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The American Indian Chicago Conference held at the University of Chicago, June 13-20, 1961, was designed to allow Indians of all tribes to voice their opinions and desires. The proceedings of the conference contain formal statements of purpose and creed, with proposed legislative and regulatory changes constructed to alleviate problems of the Indian population in economic development, health, welfare, housing, law enforcement and education. The appendices contain a number of formal statements regarding specific problems and information regarding the registrants and the makeup of the various committees. (DK)

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The Voice of the American Indian

DECLARATION OF INDIAN PURPOSE

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AMERICAN INDIAN CHICAGO CONFERENCE

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

JUNE 13–20, 1961

THE AMERICAN INDIAN PLEDGE

1. We are steadfast, as all other true Americans, in our absolute faith in the wisdom and justice of our American form of Government.

2. We join with all other loyal citizens of our beloved country in offering our lives, our property and our sacred honor in the defense of this country and of its institutions.

3. We denounce in emphatic terms the efforts of the promoters of any alien form of government to plant upon our shores or within any of our institutions the ideology or way of life which inflicts slavery, trial and punishment without the sanction of a jury, denies free speech, abhors free choice of religious worship, or through force and fear threatens the peace and safety of mankind.

4. At this critical hour of human history the American Indians arise as one in pledging to the President of the United States and to our fellow citizens our assurance that upon these principles we and our children shall forever stand.

Adopted by the AICC
June 19, 1961

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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INTRODUCTION

The American Indian Chicago Conference originated with Dr. Sol Tax, Professor of Anthropology, University of Chicago, who for many years has devoted a great amount of time to the study of North American Indians and their problems. It occurred to Dr. Tax that this was the appropriate time for Indians on a national scale to voice their opinions and desires. With promises of help from Dr. Nancy Lurie of the University of Michigan, and Robert Rietz, of the Chicago American Indian Center, he asked the University for sponsorship and sought Foundation funds.

The matter was brought to the attention of the annual convention of the National Congress of American Indians in November of 1960, with a proposal to review events which have occurred since the publication of the Meriam Report of 1928 and to bring the review up to date with recommendations for a new improved approach to Indian administration. The N. C. A. I., in conference assembled in Denver, agreed to endorse but did not sponsor the project.

A temporary Steering Committee, composed of Indians only, recommended and held a series of state and regional meetings of Indians preparatory to the Chicago conference. Dr. Tax and his staff of the University of Chicago, acting as a coordinating agency, reproduced the data and opinions and distributed them widely to Indians and the public as the meetings progressed. As a result some 460 Indians of 90 tribes gathered at the University of Chicago where committees began to assemble Indian thinking and to prepare preliminary drafts of a statement for the consideration of the entire conference. This report is the final result and recommendation of that conference.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Indians of North America are deeply sensible of the value of the American Indian Chicago Conference which sat from June 13th to June 20th inclusive.

Also that the conference in which some 90 tribes were represented by over 450 delegates covering an area extending from the Bering Sea in the North, to the Keys of Florida including an area from Mexico, to the eastern shores of Canada, was made possible only because of the personal and financial support of

1. The University of Chicago, its professors and students; the hosts; the Fund for Adult Education; the Emil Schwarzhaupt Foundation; the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthopological Research; the Phelps-Stokes Fund; the Santa Fe Railroad and others providing financial aid in direct gifts and in reduced transportation rates to our delegates;

2. The regional pre-convention groups of friends throughout the nation;

3. Mayor Richard J. Daley of the City of Chicago who proclaimed June 13-20 American Indian Week and all of the city officials whose cooperation afforded us a warm-hearted welcome;

4. The various Indian Tribes whose progressive leaders appreciated the opportunity the occasion offered;

5. The various churches of all denominations who gave both financial and moral support;

6. Friends of Indians as individuals or as associates of organizations who contributed funds and attended the conference as observers and resource people;
7. The members of the several local groups resident in Chicago including University students who volunteered the thousands of hours of time as secretaries, guides, etc. without which no convention can function smoothly;
8. The National Congress of American Indians whose support from the first gave a favorable impulse to this event, and
9. Last but not least do we mention Dr. Sol Tax of The University of Chicago, and Dr. Nancy O. Lurie, his able assistant, and Robert W. Rietz and other associates for their vital direction of the entire project.

To all of these and the many others who rendered essential service, we the members who comprised the American Indian Chicago Conference, give our wholehearted thanks.

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

WHEREAS: The American Indian Chicago Conference was conceived and developed by voluntary effort. The steering committee composed of American Indians assisted by the University of Chicago endeavored to secure the interest and support of all American Indians, and

WHEREAS: Interest developed and drew to the conference some 460 Indians representing 90 tribes, and bands throughout the nation.

Therefore: in order to give recognition to certain basic philosophies by which the Indian People live, We, the Indian People, must be governed by principles in a democratic manner with a right to choose our way of life. Since our Indian culture is threatened by presumption of being absorbed by the American society, we believe we have the responsibility of preserving our precious heritage. We believe that the Indians must provide the adjustment and thus freely advance with dignity to a better life. In order to accomplish the general objectives of the creed adopted at this conference, we the Indian People herein assembled adopt as official the report herewith attached this date June 20, 1961.

Mrs. Catherine Preebles
Chairman 6 of General Assembly
On June 20, 1961

Attested to by

D'Arcy McNickle
Chairman, Steering Committee

CREED

WE BELIEVE in the inherent right of all people to retain spiritual and cultural values, and that the free exercise of these values is necessary to the normal development of any people. Indians exercised this inherent right to live their own lives for thousands of years before the white man came and took their lands. It is a more complex world in which Indians live today, but the Indian people who first settled the New World and built the great civilizations which only now are being dug out of the past, long ago demonstrated that they could master complexity.

WE BELIEVE that the history and development of America show that the Indian has been subjected to duress, undue influence, unwarranted pressures, and policies which have produced uncertainty, frustration, and despair. Only when the public understands these conditions and is moved to take action toward the formulation and adoption of sound and consistent policies and programs will these destroying factors be removed and the Indian resume his normal growth and make his maximum contribution to modern society.

WE BELIEVE in the future of a greater America, an America which we were first to love, where life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness will be a reality. In such a future, with Indians and all other Americans cooperating, a cultural climate will be created in which the Indian people will grow and develop as members of a free society.

LEGISLATIVE AND REGULATORY PROPOSALS

In order that basic objectives may be restated and that action to accomplish these objectives may be continuous and may be pursued in a spirit of public dedication, it is proposed that recommendations be adopted to strengthen the principles of the Indian Reorganization Act and to accomplish other purposes. These recommendations would be comparable in scope and purpose to the Indian Trade and Intercourse Act of June 30, 1834, the Act of the same date establishing the Bureau of Indian Affairs, and the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934, which recognized the inherent powers of Indian Tribes.

The recommendations we propose would redefine the responsibilities of the United States toward the Indian people in terms of a positive national obligation to modify or remove the conditions which produce the poverty and lack of social adjustment as these prevail as the outstanding attributes of Indian life today. Specifically, the recommendations would:

(1) Abandon the so-called termination policy of the last administration by revoking House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress.

(2) Adopt as official policy the principle of broad educational process as the procedure best calculated to remove the disabilities which have prevented Indians from making full use of their resources.

It has been long recognized that one Commissioner cannot give the personal attention to all tribal matters which they deserve. He cannot meet all callers to his office, make necessary visits to the field, and give full attention to the review of tribal programs and supporting budget requests. In view of these conditions, we most urgently recommend that the present organization of the Bureau of Indian Affairs be reviewed and that certain principles be considered no matter what the organizational change might be.

The basic principle involves the desire on the part of Indians to participate in developing their own programs with help and guidance as needed and requested, from a local decentralized technical and administrative staff, preferably located conveniently to the people it serves. Also in recent years certain technical and professional people of Indian descent are becoming better qualified and available to work with and for their own people in determining their own programs and needs. The Indians as responsible individual citizens, as responsible tribal representatives, and as responsible Tribal Councils want to participate, want to contribute to their own personal and tribal improvements and want to cooperate with their Government on how best to solve the many problems in a business-like, efficient and economical manner as rapidly as possible.

It is, therefore, recommended that:

1. Area offices be abolished and their authority be given to the agency superintendents.

2. The position of reservation Superintendent be strengthened to permit broader exercise of responsibility and authority to act on significant and important matters of daily operations of Indian problems, preventing undue delays.

3. Position qualifications require the employment of Superintendents with courage and determination, among other qualities, to help with local problems and be willing to make without further referral to higher levels, decisions commensurate with the delegated authorities.

4. The Superintendent be charged with the responsibilities of cooperating with the local tribal governing bodies in developing the Federal Program and Budget for that particular tribe or reservation.

RESOURCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Due to the wide variation of economic status and geographical location of tribes, the needs of Indians vary. Consequently, it is necessary that careful consideration be given to the needs of each Indian community. Programs that may be good for one tribe of Indians may not necessarily achieve desirable results for another. Proper evaluation of Indian needs requires qualified field personnel who understand Indians, and, equally important, who are understood by Indians. It is the consensus of the delegates to the American Indian Chicago Conference that the following are the needs of the Indian people.

Economic Assistance: There is need for providing economic assistance to Indian tribes and their members by the establishment upon Indian reservations of industries and other activities which will provide employment and otherwise improve the economic status of Indians. Adequate staffing of this industrial development division of the Bureau of Indian Affairs is highly essential.

Legislative assistance including tax inducements, is necessary to accomplish this end. Also, states and other local agencies should be requested to lend encouragement and offer inducements to industries to locate plants and establishment on or near Indian reservations.

Indian participation in development programs: We believe that where programs have failed in the past, the reasons were lack of Indian understanding, planning, participation, and approval.

A plan of development should be prepared by each Indian group, whose lands or other assets are held in trust, whether such lands or assets are fully defined or not; such plans to be designed to bring about maximum utilization of physical resources by the dependent population and the development of that population to its full potential; such plans to be prepared by the Indians of the respective groups, with authority to call upon the agencies of the federal government for technical assistance, and the ultimate purpose of such planning to be the growth and development of the resources and the people;

That requests for annual appropriations of funds be based on the requirements for carrying into effect these individual development plans, including credit needs and capital investment, and the annual operating budget for the Bureau of Indian Affairs to include sufficient funds to cover the costs of preparing plans and estimates similar in operation to a Point IV plan.

That any transfer of services now provided by the United States for the benefit of Indians be jointly planned with the Indians.

Land Purchase Funds: The land purchase funds authorized by the Indian Reorganization Act should again be appropriated on an annual basis, to permit tribes to add to their inadequate land base, to purchase heirship lands and allotments on which restrictions are removed, and otherwise improve their economy.

That a concentrated effort be made to retain, rather than dispose of, Indian lands in order to allow the Indians sufficient economic units upon which to improve their economic conditions; and that administrative regulations and practices be reviewed, modified and amended to bring about such results.

Economic Development and Credit: There is need for adequate revolving loan funds so that the Indian will have full opportunity to take advantage of the potentials of his property.

Conclusion of Projects: Too often both the government and private agencies fail to provide sufficient continuity in funds or personnel to carry a program through to conclusion. Therefore all groups that wish to help Indians should plan to make their help sufficient and available over a long enough period of time to permit the successful conclusion of a project.

Indian Preference in BIA Employment: Preference to Indians in BIA employment should be reinstated and given encouragement. As recently as early 1961 Indian graduates of business schools have been counseled and urged by BIA to go to distant cities to use their newly-acquired training while at the same time BIA clerical positions were open in their home community agencies and were filled by non-Indian, BIA employees' wives or other relatives. Propaganda pressure on Indian graduates to go to distant cities should be stopped.

Force Account Method of Getting Construction Work Done by BIA: As one way of bringing additional employment opportunities to Indian reservations, the BIA should return to the force account method of doing construction work. The present policy of contracting construction jobs has withdrawn from Indians many valuable opportunities for on-the-job training and needed employment. Many persons who lost employment because of this change in policy over the last ten years have often been forced on federal or tribal relief assistance which has resulted in a greater total public burden than in the savings on construction jobs. When contracts for construction projects are made on reservations they should include stipulations that the resident Indians be given preferential job opportunities and that they be exempt from union requirements to obtain and hold such jobs.

Where certain Indian-owned private businesses exist they too should be permitted on a negotiated contract basis such as dirt moving, construction, surveying etc. when force account is not attempted.

Service Contracts: The policy of contracting with private business to take over such functions as school lunch feeding, laundry and bakery services, and dairying should be discouraged and BIA should conduct these services where feasible as adult training programs.

Relocation Program: The volume of relocatees should not be an objective and large numbers exceed the ability of the relocation staff. The number should be determined not only by the job market, but by the ability of the office to provide continuing services to relocatees. Relocation personnel should be trained to give each client their utmost attention, and should not be under the pressure of large numbers.

Statements to Indians being relocated of what they will need, what services are available, how long they may have to wait for a job, that there may be periods of unemployment, etc., should be more clearly stated to the relocatee. A written statement should be given to each relocatee of his rights and privileges. Qualification of the proposed relocatee should indicate possible success of relocation effort.

The temporary housing for new families should be improved. At the time of arrival, there is the greatest sense of strangeness. And, the temporary housing should be as cheerful and as good as possible.

Welfare provisions for relocatees should be greatly increased. They are still inadequate to the needs of many families due to periodic unemployment. It is a waste of money to pay the way out for an Indian family only to have them return because of inadequate finances, or inadequate preparation. The Program should provide for adequate financial assistance to relocatees until such time as they are eligible for assistance from local agencies.

Self-relocated Indians should be provided employment aid by the Relocation Office.

Federal assistance in purchasing homes in the area should be made by a group which is independent of the Bureau. Indians elected from the area should be represented on this body. General publication should be made of financial transactions of relocation services.

BIA should re-cast the Relocation Program to include an adult education program. Counting success or failure in terms of those who stay relocated should be discontinued. The BIA should immediately review its program of financial assistance to take into full account the varying eligibility requirements for welfare assistance and other services by the several states and counties. Within reasonable limits relocatees should get their transportation paid to return home when adjustments to urban life prove too difficult; this would also serve to force better screening before relocatees are sent away from home, and sinking into the slum areas to live.

Job Opportunites: It is recommended that a special conference be held of federal and state employment agency personnel to develop employment opportunites for Indians, and to consider the particular problems of Indians in employment. Means should be provided by the federal and state governments to act upon the recommendations of such conference, enacting protective laws or measures as needed.

HEALTH

Federally provided health services for Indians began in the early 1800's under the War Department. The services passed from military to civilian jurisdiction in 1849 when Indian Affairs were transferred to the newly created Interior Department. Approximately two dozen of the treaties written during the 1800's committed the Federal Government to provide health services for certain tribes. Most of these treaties stipulated that such services would be provided for definite periods of time ranging from 5 to 20 years. Nevertheless, by 1900 a precedent had been established for continuing services to certain tribes under the so-called "gratuity appropriations".

The Bureau of Indian Affairs retained this responsibility until July 1, 1955, when it was transferred, by act of Congress to the U. S. Public Health Service in the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. Although the Indian health program has been transferred to U.S.P.H.S., this does not relieve the Federal Government, in general, and the BIA in particular, from fulfilling their moral and/or legal responsibilities in providing adequate and improved health services.

American Indians are citizens of the states in which they live, as well as citizens of the United States. Therefore they are entitled to a variety of health services through the programs of state, county and private agencies, but this fact is often not known to the Indians, and apparently it frequently is not known to the agencies that administer these programs. County, state and private agencies have patently discriminated against Indian citizens and refused them services on the grounds that Indians are the responsibility of the Federal Government. The Federal Government and the U.S.P.H.S. have the responsibility to provide more adequate services, to educate the other agencies and to insist that they provide those services, willingly adequately, and conscientiously. In this connection, this conference urges that U.S.P.H.S. resume responsibility for deciding eligibility for health services in the various states where the experience of leaving this to the state has been unsatisfactory and contrary to the policy as enunciated by U.S.P.H.S.; that it should be at least as liberal, if not more so, as the BIA had been in providing health services. County and state welfare authorities have often been miserly as well as discriminatory in granting eligibility for Indian health services. This may be due in part to slow administrative reimbursements to local private hospitals. Red tape for approval of payments should be minimized. (In some states it is reported that the welfare authorities have gone so far as to force Indians to dispose of their small land-holdings in order to qualify for welfare benefits and corresponding services.)

Some of the major factors contributing to Indian health problems today include isolation and dispersion of population; poor housing and sanitation; inadequate economic base; lack of acquaintance with accepted health practices and services; lack of employment; inability to develop existing resources. All contribute to living standards that are not conducive to good mental or physical health. Most illnesses and one-fifth of the deaths among Indians can be prevented. The average age at death in the Indian population is 40 years compared to 62 years for all races. The death rate for Indian infants is twice as high as compared to infant mortality in the general population. Fifty-two of every 1,000 Indian babies born alive die before reaching their first birthday, compared to 26 in the general population.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

1. Health Education

    A. Stress preventative medicine

    B. Promote maternal and child care and nutrition

C. Provide adult education relating to individual health, home, community, sanitation, nutrition, and housing.

2. Indian health services and eligibility for services should be based on Indian health needs and the availability of resources to provide health services, and not on title to land on which the Indian people live. This means that reservation, non-reservation, and off-reservation Indians should be included.

3. Health centers and hospitals near Indian communities must be maintained. The locations of new hospitals must be determined by joint decision of Indian and health authorities.

4. Dental services must be resumed and expanded.

5. Roads to facilitate emergency field services must be improved.

6. Field health services must be expanded. Many Indian reservations and communities are divided into small rural settlements and require more field nurses and physicians. The practice of using two-year draft doctors in Indian hospitals for internee training should be improved.

7. Where contracts are in force or contemplated with public and private hospitals and physicians, provisions must be made clear to these agencies that funds will be withheld unless terms and conditions are met in full.

8. Rehabilitation programs, school health programs, and clinics should be set up and properly maintained.

9. Problems in alcoholism must receive special attention.

10. Mental health programs should be initiated and properly supervised by qualified physicians in that field.

WELFARE

Because withdrawal of the United States Public Health Service in various areas has caused hardship to many Indians, an overall review and revision of the United States Welfare Policy should be made. Also it is important that reservation, non-reservation, off-reservation, and all other classifications of Indians be provided with adequate welfare benefits, and such legislation changes as may be necessary, be enacted.

Some states and counties are reluctant to help Indians because of their status as Indians or because of their living on non-taxable lands. They feel that Indian welfare is the responsibility of the federal government. Some counties, since they were not advised of transfers of services from federal to state government, find themselves confronted with financial responsibilities they cannot afford.

Many Indian people, due to unavoidable circumstances, are unable to maintain a decent and healthful standard of living and assistance may be denied because of the differing county eligibility requirements with respect to residency, land status or other income. Furthermore, many Indians are reluctant to seek aid because of the red tape and rigid welfare requirements and also because of the unfavorable Indian attitude of the welfare personnel.

Many needy Indians are excluded from the surplus food commodity program because they do not have the required storage facilities. Coordinated federal, state, and county planning to provide storage facilities would permit these families to participate under this program; Indians in need of food are not able to finance such requirements. The surplus food commodity program should include a nutritional diet.

We urge the Bureau of Indian Affairs to obtain information on national norms of need (net income against size of family), a basic standard as to the definition of need, and the income needed to provide reasonable subsistence; that definition of need and, income be flexible enough to allow changes commensurate with rising costs of living. Should state and county welfare assistance programs not meet this minimum, then a federal grant of Indian assistance should be established in these cases.

Such grants will be considered sufficient when, if added to the county or state contribution, they would permit a reasonable subsistence compatible with health, well-being and decency. Such a plan of standardized norms will act as a safeguard against discrimination by welfare officials.

Private and non-governmental organizations providing services and relief should report to welfare offices so as to prevent duplication and provide a better distribution of the aid given from all sources.

HOUSING

The Indians aspire to possess good homes no less than do their neighbors. Some Indians are living in tarpaper shacks, wigwams, and homes without sanitary facilities, plumbing and running water, and in some areas condemned slums or company hovels.

These recommendations, predicated upon serious emergency conditions requiring immediate consideration and action, also look toward a continuing improvement in Indian living conditions.

In order to promote and protect the general welfare of the Indians, it is necessary that the Federal Government assist in providing improved home conditions in all communities where Indians live, by:

1. Removing unsanitary and substandard conditions through more generous and flexible interpretation of the Federal housing laws.

2. Insisting on the enforcement of existing housing standards. Indians should have equal consideration under existing laws. For example, Public Law 86-121 authorizes the Public Health Service to work with reservation Indians and Alaska Natives in constructing sanitation work, but it excludes Indian residents in towns, cities, and other Indian communities.

3. Extending long term credit at low interest rates to Indian families. Special funds should be made available to build low cost housing units for Indians in industrial areas and Indians residing on non-reservation land.

EDUCATION

We recommend that the task of the Indian Bureau be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of the word. The Meriam Survey of over 32 years ago, is still a valid guide to action in the year 1961. We conceive education not only in terms of classroom teaching, but a process which begins at birth and continues through a life span. Of all the studies, surveys, and research made of Indians, the inevitable conclusions and recommendations are that education is the key to salvation of whatever ills may be, wherever Indians reside.

The first encompassing and formal education provided for Indians was authorized by statutory and treaty arrangements between Indian tribes and the federal government. Some tribes provided for their own school systems, financed out of tribal funds.

It would be well if all our children would avail themselves of academic training, but the truth is that only a few complete secondary schooling. The under-educated are of all ages. Lack of education limits our chances to qualify for skilled occupations. A general upgrading of education for Indians and a determined effort to discover and educate our ablest individuals is essential for all age groups.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

FEDERAL AND PUBLIC SCHOOLS

1. In public schools dropout rates are excessive, especially between the junior and senior high school ages, and attendance records are unbelievably poor. Therefore, proper guidance and supervisory programs must be re-examined and expanded. Where discrimination in public exists against Indian children, we recommend that it be abolished and these children be accepted in any school of their choice.

2. Recent emphasis on transferring Indian students from federal to public schools without careful evaluation of local situations should be discontinued unless after study with the local community it is determined that the transfer would benefit the students academically and socially.

3. Policy determining admission to federal schools must be re-examined and changed. Limiting attendance or reserving for specific tribes fosters discrimination against nearby Indians who need such facilities. Also enrollment of far away students which crowd local students out should be corrected.

When tribes have prior rights to federal schools, by virtue of offset payment, these rights must not be ignored.

Local tribes should be given preference in admission to the schools nearest them; however, when local Indians are accommodated, federal schools should accept all Indian students who wish admittance, regardless of tribe or residence in order to keep facilities operating at maximum benefit.

Since some federal schools have been closed to Indians juvenile delinquency in that area has been a growing problem. While these schools were open this was not the case. Precautions should be taken to prevent children being placed in sub-standard foster homes. It is preferred that they be enrolled in Federal Indian schools. Federal schools must be restored to full curriculum and junior colleges should be established in areas where considerable public and federally operated schools exist. Another federal school should be established to replace the Carlisle School long ago abolished. A federal Indian school should be established for the children of the Eastern region.

In order that good student-teacher and community relationships be promoted, personnel employed to teach in government schools should be selected on a basis of their interest in Indian students, their knowledge of Indian culture, and their willingness to live and participate in local community life. Salaries should be established at levels comparable to local public rates and recruiting and employment should be done in local competition.

Adequate counseling and guidance services should be made available to all Indian students. It is extremely important that Indian students be informed of all the educational opportunities and resources available to them as Indians and as American citizens. Too often Indian young people, capable of doing college work, are going into vocational training programs because they lack information on finances available to them for college expenses, and they have had little or no counseling help. The teaching and supervisory personnel of the Bureau's education department and vocational training program, the relocation services, and the state education programs must work cooperatively in counseling Indian students. The present grant-aid program, administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, should be expanded to include all American Indian students including the off-reservation and non-reservation and all other Indians having the capacity for college work. Appropriations for the grant-aid program should be greatly increased to take care of the need of all qualified applicants. The present policy limiting grants only to students attending state-supported schools should be revised to enable the students to attend the college or university of their choice.

VOCATIONAL TRAINING

Vocational training programs should be available to all Indians--to reservation Indians, off-reservation Indians, non-reservation Indians--and any other Indian classification--with no age limit when the applicant qualifies. All vocational trainees coming to relocation areas under the Bureau of Indian Affairs program should be allowed to complete their course with subsistence payments, so long as they are making satisfactory progress. Only accredited schools should be used in the vocational training program.

ADULT EDUCATION

Since the transfer of the Extension Services to states has been unsatisfactory in some areas, a department of extension should be reestablished in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. In order to provide more effective educational opportunity, these services should be evaluated and expanded to meet the needs and interests of the people involved.

ON-THE-JOB TRAINING

Provide C.C.C. type on-the-job and on-the-farm training for both adults and youths. A youth conservation corps may help to solve the problem of juvenile delinquency. It would give young people jobs to keep them occupied, spending money, supervision and skills that could be useful on their home reservation or elsewhere.

SCHOOL LUNCH PROGRAMS

The school lunch program should be made available to all elementary and secondary Indian students.

SPECIAL CLASSROOMS

Because of the need for special classrooms for the exceptional and retarded children on reservations it is recommended that these be provided.

LAW AND JURISDICTION

In view of the termination policy and particularly Public Law 280, many Indian people have been vitally concerned and fearful that their law and order systems will be supplanted, without their consent, by state law enforcement agencies which, perhaps, might be hostile toward them. In U.S. v. Kagama (1885) 118 U.S. 375, 383, the Court, speaking of Indians, said:

"They are communities dependent on the United States; . . .; dependent for their political rights. They owe no allegiance to the States, and receive from them no protection. Because of the local ill feeling of the people, states where they are found are often their deadliest enemies. From their very weakness and helplessness, so largely due to the course of dealing of the Federal Government with them and treaties in which it has been promised, there arises a duty of protection, and with it the power."

That statement by the Supreme Court is considered to be as true today as when written.

The repeated breaking of solemn treaties by the United States has also been a concern which is disheartening to the tribes and it is felt that there is no apparent concern by the Government about breaking treaties.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Return of Indian Lands: We urge the Congress to direct by appropriate legislation the return in trust of that part of the Public Domain formerly owned by an Indian tribe or nation which the Secretary of Interior shall determine to be excess and non-essential to the purpose for which such land was originally taken or which was covered by a reversionary clause in the treaty or cession or other lands declared to be surplus to the government's needs. Restore all Indian lands that were consumed by termination policy.

2. Indian Claims Commission: We urge that Congress ascertain the reasons for the inordinate delay of the Indian Claims Commission in finishing its important assignment. The Congress should request the views of the attorneys for the tribes on this in order to balance the views already expressed to Congress by the attorneys for the United States.

The woeful lack of sufficient personnel to handle the case load in the Justice Department, we believe, is the sole cause for the delay, so damaging to the tribes, in expediting the Commission's work.

The law clearly directs that each tribe be represented by counsel and there would seem to exist no possible reason why the Justice Department should not be required to increase its personnel in the Indian Claims Section of the Lands Division to remove this just criticism. Simple justice suggests that this be speedily done or else irreparable damage to the tribes will result. We believe the Congress will want to correct this situation as promptly as possible.

3. Title to Reservations: The Secretary of the Interior, if he has the authority, or the Congress should act to determine the legal beneficiaries of reservations created under the Indian Reorganization Act or other authority for "Landless and Homeless Indians," also reservations established by executive order or prior act of Congress, where the naming of the beneficial users has been left indefinite or ambiguous. As Indians improve such lands, or as mineral wealth or other assets of value are discovered, ownership is in jeopardy unless clearly defined.

4. Submarginal Lands: Submarginal and other surplus lands adjoining or within the exterior boundaries of Indian reservations and purchased for the benefit of the Indians, should be transferred to the tribes under trust.

5. Land Purchase Funds: The land purchase funds authorized by the Indian Reorganization Act should again be appropriated on an annual basis, to permit tribes to add to their inadequate land base, to purchase heirship lands and allotments on which restrictions are removed, and otherwise improve their economy.

6. Voting on the Indian Reorganization Act: Amend the Indian Reorganization Act to permit tribes to vote on its acceptance at any time.

7. Protect Indian Water Rights: Adopt legislation to protect all Indian water rights of Indian reservations against appropriators who, because the government may be negligent in providing for Indian development, are able to establish a record of prior use.

9. Heirship Lands: Adopt a manageable and equitable heirship lands bill.

10. Amend P.L. 280: Amend P.L. 280 (83rd Congress) to require Indian consent to past and future transfers of jurisdiction over civil and criminal cases to the state in which a reservation is located, and to permit such transfers to take place, with Indian consent, on a progressive or item by item basis.

11. Reservation Boundaries: In order that Indian tribes may be properly protected in their reservation and may proceed with the orderly development of their resources, it is recommended that authority, if required, and funds be appropriated for the immediate survey and establishment of reservation boundaries.

TAXATION

Grave concern has arisen as a result of the recent rulings of the Bureau of Internal Revenue which in substance directly violate the solemn treaty obligations made with the American Indian.

In fact, within the past few years, there has been a steady trend by both the federal and state taxing departments to encroach upon the rights of the Indian in the taxing of Indian property.

Recently, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has boldly claimed that it has the right to levy upon and collect income taxes upon income received by Indians which is derived from the sale of livestock grazed upon restricted Indian lands. Already the Internal Revenue Service has levied upon, assessed and collected income taxes upon income received from restricted Indian production.

The taxing department of the federal government has arbitrarily made these rulings which are wholly contrary to the solemn provisions of the treaties made with the American Indian. These rulings have been made and are being enforced notwithstanding the fact that it was never intended that the Indian was to be taxed in any manner upon his restricted Indian lands, or upon the income derived from the same.

In fact the greater amount of Indian lands located in the western part of the nation are dry and arid lands and suitable for grazing purposes only. In other words, the Indian is by nature restricted as to the use of his lands since the same can only be used for grazing purposes.

Therefore, in order to further prevent the establishment of such arbitrary rules of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, and to correct the rules already existing, we deem it necessary that legislation be enacted which will clearly spell out the intent and purposes of the existing treaties and agreements made with Indian tribes. Specifically, a clear statement must be made by law that income received by an enrolled member of an Indian tribe, which is derived from tribal, allotted and restricted Indian lands, whether by original allotment, by inheritance, by exchange or purchase, or as a leasee thereof, while such lands are held in trust by the United States in trust, is exempt from Federal and State income taxes.

TREATY RIGHTS

It is a universal desire among all Indians that their treaties and trust-protected lands remain intact and beyond the reach of predatory men.

This is not special pleading, though Indians have been told often enough by members of Congress and the courts that the United States has the plenary power to wipe out our treaties at will. Governments, when powerful enough, can act in this arbitrary and immoral manner.

Still we insist that we are not pleading for special treatment at the hands of the American people. When we ask that our treaties be respected, we are mindful of the opinion of Chief Justice John Marshall on the nature of the treaty obligations between the United States and the Indian tribes.

Marshall said that a treaty ". . . is a compact between two nations or communities, having the right of self-government. Is it essential that each party shall possess the same attributes of sovereignty to give force to the treaty? This will not be pretended, for on this ground, very few valid treaties could be formed. The only requisite is, that each of the contracting parties shall possess the right of self-government, and the power to perform the stipulations of the treaty."

And he said, "We have made treaties with (the Indians); and are those treaties to be disregarded on our part, because they were entered into with an uncivilized people? Does this lessen the obligation of such treaties? By entering into them have we not admitted the power of this people to bind themselves, and to impose obligations on us?"

The right of self-government, a right which the Indians possessed before the coming of the white man, has never been extinguished; indeed, it has been repeatedly sustained by the courts of the United States. Our leaders made binding agreements--ceding lands as requested by the United States; keeping the peace; harboring no enemies of the nation. And the people stood with the leaders in accepting these obligations.

A treaty, in the minds of our people, is an eternal word. Events often make it seem expedient to depart from the pledged word, but we are conscious that the first departure creates a logic for the second departure, until there is nothing left of the word.

We recognize that our view of these matters differs at times from the prevailing legal view regarding due process.

When our lands are taken for a declared public purpose, scattering our people and threatening our continued existence, it grieves us to be told that a money payment is the equivalent of all the things we surrender. Our forefathers could be generous when all the continent was theirs. They could cast away whole empires for a handful of trinkets for their children. But in our day, each remaining acre is a promise that we will still be here tomorrow. Were we paid a thousand times the market value of our lost holdings, still the payment would not suffice. Money never mothered the Indian people, as the land has mothered them, nor have any people become more closely attached to the land, religiously and traditionally.

We insist again that this is not special pleading. We ask only that the United States be true to its own traditions and set an example to the world in fair dealing.

INDIANS TO BE SERVED

The United States has long followed a policy of turning its back on Indians who are not physically in residence on a federally established reservation. Such a policy fosters the illusion that the Indian population is smaller than it actually is, but a more serious consequence is that it also perpetuates the illusion that the problem of assisting Indians is less than it is. The Bureau of Indian Affairs has even been known to take credit for those non-assisted Indians as examples of its accomplishment in promoting "assimilation." With the exception of some few individuals, these Indians, as they and their white neighbors know only too well, have not been assimilated; they have only been forgotten.

Even the most cursory examination of the history of these off-reservation or non-reservation Indian groups must reveal how callous and unjust this policy has been in practice.

We cite several general categories of historical development to illustrate the situation in which many Indians find themselves:

Indian families or bands or parts of bands remained in their historic homelands when the main body of the tribe moved, sometimes by force, to a reservation established by treaty, agreement, executive order or Act of Congress. The reasons were various and do not matter at this date, but generally the Indians who remained behind or drifted back did so because (a), the treaty, agreement, or Act of Congress permitted heads of families to take up allotments in their former domain, or (b) band leaders refused to give consent to a treaty or agreement and were in effect cut off from the main body of the tribe.

EXAMPLES: The Winnebago Indians in Wisconsin; Ottawa in Michigan; Pottawatomi in Michigan and Wisconsin; Sioux in Minnesota.

The reservations created for tribes and bands were either totally inadequate as an economic base, or the Indians were permitted and even encouraged to dispose of large segments of an established reservation without taking into account the future land needs of the tribe. The children and grandchildren of these tribes have never had land of their own, except as they have inherited uneconomic fragments, and have no recourse other than to seek employment away from home. Most of the allotted reservations of the Plains states and the Northwest are in these related situations.

The most glaring examples of an inadequate reservation base:

Turtle Mountain Chippewa in North Dakota; Rocky Boy of Montana (landless Chippewa and Cree); Stockbridge and Munsee of Wisconsin; Sauk and Fox of Iowa; Kickapoo, Pottawatomi, Iowa, and Sauk and Fox of Kansas; the Omaha; Ponca, Santee, and Winnebago of Nebraska; the Choctaws of Mississippi; and all the rancherias and missions of California.

A few examples of tribes that were encouraged to share their lands with white settlers which resulted in pauperizing themselves are:

Sisseton Sioux of South Dakota, Fort Totten in North Dakota, and the Chippewa bands of Minnesota.

The relocation program which the Bureau of Indian Affairs has promoted since 1950 continued and indeed expanded the injurious policy of moving Indians prematurely out from under federal responsibility. Inadequate economic opportunities at the local and reservation level make impossible a really free choice, and relocation is often in fact forced; then if trouble comes to the family, the Federal government is no longer responsible.

For all of the above reasons, it is apparent that the whole matter of Indians living away from an established reservation needs to be reviewed by Congress and the American public to determine what programs, what legislation, what private action by churches, citizen groups, or other interested bodies should be taken to correct the conditions in which Indians live. Mention has not been made in the above categories of the situation of those Indian groups, mostly in the East and the South, for whom no lands were ever reserved under federal law and for whom no federal services have ever been provided. Yet they remain Indian, and they remain isolated.

We say emphatically that problems of health, education, economic distress and social non-acceptance rest as heavily on all the Indians in these categories as they do on the reservation Indians, and possibly more heavily.

Therefore, in all the Recommendations herein, it is to be understood that even where non-reservation or off-reservation Indians are not specified, it is our purpose to insist that their needs be taken into account.

Because of the increasing contact of Indian people with the urban communities, it is important to encourage the development of urban Indian Centers where these are needed. Because of cultural differences between Indian and non-Indian society, these urban centers can function best if their operation is the responsibility of the Indian people themselves. It would be a great error to see these centers as places where things are done to Indians and for Indians "for their own good" as so much of our past Indian affairs have been carried out. In the same way that local reservations and other Indian communities need to retain their autonomy and responsibility, the urban Indian center organization should be in the hands of the Indian people it presumes to serve.

Because of the extreme difficulty in raising necessary funds for such centers, and because this reservation-city movement is a definite part of the general American Indian scene, the urban center should receive adequate subsidy from the federal government. The Indian center should qualify for such grants by meeting the accepted standards of program as set out by their local urban community, and the federal government should not extend its influence and control into such agencies.

INDIANS AND NON-FEDERAL AGENCIES

Local governments, churches, missionary groups, and private organizations have from the early days made important contributions to education, medical care, welfare, and political advancement in behalf of the Indian people. But since the primary and legal responsibility in these matters rested in the federal government, the activities of all other groups have tended to stay on the edge. Universities and scientific organizations interested in the Indian people have tended in the past to confine their studies to theoretical matters, since they were almost never called upon by the federal agency to study and make recommendations on specific problems affecting the Indian people.

It is hoped that in the future there will be more joint undertakings by government and private agencies. Trusteeship responsibility need not be abandoned in order to encourage increased participation by groups and individuals outside of the federal household. And such increased participation can be of great benefit in promoting research in basic problems, in conducting pilot projects to test out practices and methods, and in providing learning situations for the Indian people.

The government either has authority or it should seek legislative authority to contract for services in any and all fields, wherever skills and experience are available and are in need. Work under contract by private agencies can often be carried out in a manner more directly to benefit the Indians, since it is not hampered by the regulatory procedures (red tape) required by government. At the same time, the government should develop standards of performance as a guide to contracting parties.

In the outline of programs for the future listed above, no attempt has been made to indicate specific problems on which agencies outside of the federal government might direct their efforts. Such agencies might well study these suggested programs and discover ways in which their resources and abilities can be utilized in joint efforts with the tribes, the federal government, and other interested groups. The Indian people generally will welcome technical assistance, but to be most useful the offered services should be planned with the Indians and made part of a total program.

CONCLUDING STATEMENT

To complete our Declaration, we point out that in the beginning the people of the New World, called Indians by accident of geography, were possessed of a continent and a way of life. In the course of many lifetimes, our people had adjusted to every climate and condition from the Arctic to the torrid zones. In their livelihood and family relationships, their ceremonial observances, they reflected the diversity of the physical world they occupied.

The conditions in which Indians live today reflect a world in which every basic aspect of life has been transformed. Even the physical world is no longer the controlling factor in determining where and under what conditions men may live. In region after region, Indian groups found their means of existence either totally destroyed or materially modified. Newly introduced diseases swept away or reduced regional populations. These changes were followed by major shifts in the internal life of tribe and family.

The time came when the Indian people were no longer the masters of their situation. Their life ways survived subject to the will of a dominant sovereign power. This is said, not in a spirit of complaint; we understand that in the lives of all nations of people, there are times of plenty and times of famine. But we do speak out in a plea for understanding.

When we go before the American people, as we do in this Declaration, and ask for material assistance in developing our resources and developing our opportunities, we pose a moral problem which cannot be left unanswered. For the problem we raise affects the standing which our nation sustains before world opinion.

Our situation cannot be relieved by appropriated funds alone, though it is equally obvious that without capital investment and funded services, solutions will be delayed. Nor will the passage of time lessen the complexities which beset a people moving toward new meaning and purpose.

The answers we seek are not commodities to be purchased, neither are they evolved automatically through the passing of time.

The effort to place social adjustment on a money-time interval scale which has characterized Indian administration, has resulted in unwanted pressure and frustration.

When Indians speak of the continent they yielded, they are not referring only to the loss of some millions of acres in real estate. They have in mind that the land supported a universe of things they knew, valued, and loved.

With that continent gone, except for the few poor parcels they still retain, the basis of life is precariously held, but they mean to hold the scraps and parcels as earnestly as any small nation or ethnic group was ever determined to hold to identity and survival.

What we ask of America is not charity, not paternalism, even when benevolent. We ask only that the nature of our situation be recognized and made the basis of policy and action.

In short, the Indians ask for assistance, technical and financial, for the time needed, however long that may be, to regain in the America of the space age some measure of the adjustment they enjoyed as the original possessors of their native land.

APPENDIX 1

THE RECENT RECORD

The Meriam Survey And Subsequent Progress

Anyone who has worked in the field of Indian affairs within the last thirty years knows of the so-called Meriam Survey, entitled "The Problem of Indian Administration," prepared by Lewis Meriam and a staff of associates for the Institute for Government Research (Brookings Institution, Washington, D. C.). The study was undertaken at the request of Secretary Hubert Work, of the Department of the Interior, and the report was published in 1928.

The study and the findings were truly monumental. The staff of professionally trained investigators produced the first objective, scientific statement of Indian conditions ever attempted. Dr. Meriam was concerned with living people, not with any theoretical reconstruction of their societies. What he and his associates discovered about the conditions of life on Indian reservations and what the Federal and State governments and private organizations were doing or failing to do, shattered the complacency of the American people.

For at least twenty years, the main effort of the administrations in Washington, Republican and Democratic, was to repair the damage that had been done to the Indian people, in accordance with the recommendations of the Meriam report. This effort carried all the way through the Roosevelt administration and half way through the Truman administration, when, for reasons never made clear or justified to the American people, the great reform program was stopped cold.

It is our purpose to examine and expose to public view the decisions and actions which led to the adandonment of this reform program and substituted for it a program of destroying Indian resources, of denying Indian aspirations, and arbitrarily relieving the Federal government of responsibility for specific tribes or in specific areas of interest.

The central finding of the Meriam Survey is stated in the very first sentence of the report:

> "An overwhelming majority of the Indians are poor, even extremely poor, and they are not adjusted to the economic and social system of the dominant white civilization."

The analysis and elaboration of this finding runs to almost 850 pages of text. The staff inquired into and reported on problems of health, education, economic conditions, family and community life and the activities of women, migrated Indians, legal aspects, and missionary activities; and the recommendations covered not only these problem areas but also the broader questions involved in policy determinations, staff and field organization, personnel administration, and statistics and record keeping.

As the report in this one sentence characterized the Indian situation without distortion or over-simplification, so also the report proposed a single principle of action which, if faithfully followed, would in time have discovered solutions to the problems of poverty and lack of adjustment which burdened the Indian people. The principle is expressed variously as:

> "Whichever way the individual Indian may elect to face, work in his behalf must be designed not to do for him but to help him to do for himself. The whole problem must be regarded as fundamentally educational."
>
> Again: "In every activity of the Indian service the primary question should be, how is the Indian to be trained so that he will do this for Himself. Unless this question can be clearly and definitely answered by an affirmative showing of distinct educational purpose and method the chances are that the activity is impeding rather than helping the advancement of the Indian."
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> Or again: "The fundamental requirement is that the task of the Indian service be recognized as primarily educational in the broadest sense of the word, and that it be made an efficient educational agency, devoting its main energies to the social and economic advancement of the Indians, so that they may be absorbed into the prevailing civilization or be fitted to live in the presence of that civilization at least in accordance with a minimum standard of health and decency."

This principle of action was accepted and made operational in the years immediately following the Meriam survey. Soon after the appointment of Charles J. Rhoades as Commissioner of Indian Affairs, it was announced that educational reform would be the keystone of the new administration. Thus, Secretary Wilbur of the Interior Department stated: "The Indian shall no longer be viewed as a ward of the nation, but shall be considered a potential citizen. As rapidly as possible he is to have the full responsibility for himself.... In order to bring this about it will be necessary to revise our educational program into one of the practical and vocational character."[1]

An immediate effect of these recommendations was an increase in appropriated funds for new facilities, equipment and salaries. Teacher qualifications were brought into line with other school systems; regional conferences of administrative and teaching staffs resulted in greater unity in goals and methods. The boarding schools were limited to older children and emphasis was shifted to vocational training. Community day schools were developed to bring schooling closer to the home and indeed to service the community.

Not until the succeeding Roosevelt administration, however, was this broad educational principle given statutory support and put into full operation. This was made possible by the adoption of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934. The new law was aimed at repairing damages wrought in the past as well as opening the way to constructive action in the future.

It was permissive, and as to those tribes which adopted the act by formal vote of their members, it prohibited the individual allotting of tribal lands and it authorized the Secretary of the Interior to return to tribal ownership lands which had been withdrawn for homestead entry but had not been preempted. The Act also authorized an annual appropriation of $2 million to purchase land and add it to the diminished resources of the tribes, and established a revolving credit fund of $10 million (later increased to $12 million), to enable Indians to improve their land holdings and supply themselves with necessary equipment.

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1. Quoted in the New York Times, April 17, 1929.

But the real heart and core of the Indian Reorganization Act was the recognition of the inherent right of Indian tribes to operate through governments of their own creation, whether customary or formalized by written documents, and through business corporations which the tribes could create and manage.

In later years when the principle of the educational process came under attack, that attack was centered on the tribal governments and tribal corporations. It was argued that these legal devices hindered the advancement of the Indian people, encouraged them to remain aloof from the main stream of American life, and fostered unrealistic attachment to tradition and to the vanished past. Even while the argument was winning adherents and eventually influenced legislation, the evidence against the argument was taking form in Indian activities all across the country.

The start was slow in many cases, since the written constitutions introduced ideas and procedures which had not been part of customary practice. The idea of majority rule, taken so for granted in Anglo-Saxon governing bodies, was at first a divisive rather than a unifying principle in Indian groups, where action is customarily delayed until all the people are of one mind or at least the dissidents agree to stand aside. Also in the beginning, so accustomed were the tribes to wait on the decision of the federal official, they were reluctant to act on their own and to exercise the powers contained in their covenants. That early period passed, and of course performance under the tribal constitutions and charters varied from tribe to tribe. The tribes that made most effective use of the inherent and conferred powers of their written constitutions became, in effect, operating municipalities, managing property, raising revenue for public purposes, administering law and order, contracting for the services of attorneys and other professional advisers, and promoting the general welfare of the people.

The deeper meaning and purpose of tribal government was perhaps missed or misunderstood by those who argued against the program. The meaning and purpose were educational, in that broad sense used throughout the Meriam survey. Through the machinery of tribal government the Indian people for the first time since the days when they met as camp councils to plan a hunt, or as a council of headmen to meet an emissary from Washington, they could consider their problems together, reach decisions, and live with the results of those decisions. Sometimes the results were disastrous to the careers of individual leaders; the people "turned the rascals out," even as other American citizens were doing in neighboring communities and in the state and nation. But these were lessons learned and it can be said that the Indians for the first time began to have some understanding, through their own experiences, of the mechanics and the political philosophy of American society. Additional proof of the effectiveness of this learning process can be adduced from the manner in which tribal leaders began to travel beyond the borders of their own tribes to join with leaders from other tribes in forming regional, inter-tribal organizations and finally, in 1944, creating a national organization[2] which has won national recognition as the representative voice of the Indian people.

In 1956, the then-Congressman, Lee Metcalf of Montana acknowledged the status of this organization, in saying: "It is heartening to me to know that an organization like the National Congress of American Indians exists and functions. If no such body was in existence the Indians of the United States would be faced today with the necessity of bringing about the formation of an equivalent representative organization."[3]

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2. The National Congress of American Indians.
3. In closing banquet address of National Congress of American Indians, 13th Annual Convention, Salt Lake City, 1956

As Indian leaders enlarge their experiences in local and inter-tribal action, they will inevitably move into the county and state political scene and on into national political action. Individual leaders are already participating in the programs of Chambers of Commerce and civic or service committees, winning election as county commissioners and school board members, serving in their state legislatures, and running for and winning seats in Congress.

In spite of this very promising beginning and of the underlying educational principle operating as indecated, the Indian Reorganization Act, and specifically the tribal government program has been under constant attack. Thus, a subcommittee of the House Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, after conducting an investigation of the Bureau of Indian Affairs, declared in 1954:

> "The organization of Indians into tribal groups with constitutions and charters derived from the Secretary of the Interior[4] --in numerous instances without affirmative tribal approval or comprehension of what was being undertaken--appears to constitute one of the outstanding legal disabiltiies of Indians at the present time."[5]

It should be emphasized in passing that the Indian Reorganization Act provided specifically for the method of adopting a written constitution, namely "by a majority vote of the adult members of the tribe." Whether or not a question at issue in any election is comprehended, is a subjective judgment which may be raised in any election, local or national. In actuality, every election on a tribal constitution, or charter, or amendments to these documents is preceded by an intensive educational effort.

A more judicious appraisal of tribal self-government was offered in 1948 by the Committee on Indian Affairs of the so-called Hoover Commission.[6] After reviewing the record of things that had worked in the long history of Indian affairs administration, the Commission reported:[7]

> "A third experience that is encouraging is the effort under the Indian Reorganization Act to establish self-government among the Indians. The Act marked the end of the attack on Indian institutions. The attempt to revive ancient institutions in the Twentieth Century, if there was such an effort, was a mistake, as has been noted. But the end of cultral hostilities and the effort to establish self-government in tribal or village communities has been all to the good...There can be no doubt about the soundness of applying the principle of self-government to Indian problems.
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> "Indian leadership is developing. Indian people are analyzing their problems and assessing their conditions in a realistic way that is very promising. Some of them see very clearly that they could do more for themselves with very reasonable assistance, than Uncle Sam would or could do for them. The dividends from this investment in self-government are

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[4] The Suboommittee report is in error at this point, if it intends to say that tribal governments derive their powers from the Secretary of the Interior. The settled law is that the tribal right of self-government is inherent, though it may be limited by specific acts of Congress.

[5] Report No. 2680, 83rd Congress, Second Session, September 20, 1954.

[6] Commission on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government. Members of the working committee on Indian Affairs were: George A. Graham, Chairman; Charles J. Rhoades; John R. Nichols; and Gilbert Darlington.

[7] Report of above committee, p. 26.

> just beginning to come in, and there are some real weaknesses in the system as it stands, but Indian self-government is clearly a potent instrument if wisely used."

The Hoover Commission report was even more specific in citing the gains that had been made under the Indian Reorganization Act and in relating these gains to the educational process which concerns us here. Thus, the report stated:

> "Tribally owned and controlled economic enterprises are playing a significant part today in the improvement of Indian life. There are tribal(or village) loan funds, herds, forests, range lands, sawmills, fisheries, canneries, stores, marketing cooperatives, and other enterprises.
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> "The benefits are real and are of at least four kinds. (1) These projects produce revenue which Indians need. In the enterprises involving agricultural resources a modern conservation policy tends to be followed and the assets are growing in value. (2) The enterprises provide employment for Indians. Some, such as sawmills, create a great deal of employment and the income from wages far exceeds the income from dividends (per capita payments). These enterprises are aiding the economic advancement of individual Indians. (3) Tribal loan funds are being used to secure capital--livestock, farm machinery, equipment, boats, fishing gear, trucks--for individual Indians. (They are also being used to further education and provide for home construction and repairs.) The benefits are direct. Other enterprises also are helping Indians to climb a rung or two on the economic ladder. Range units owned by the tribe or by individual Indians are providing the range in which Indian owners graze their livestock. Tribal berds can make avail-repayment cattle to an individual to get him started in building up a herd of his own. Cooperatives assist individual craftsmen to get materials and market their products at a profit. (4) Not the least of the benefits of these Indian enterprises is the education they provide in present day economic institutions. It would be incomplete, to say the least, to educate Indian property owners without giving them any experience in corporate activity. Corporate organization is as essential for many Indian projects as it is for non-Indian.
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> "When Indian enterprises were launched, some of them many years ago, they were given very careful supervision. Indian service officials were largely responsible for their success or failure and had to take an active part in management to insure success. Under the Indian Reorganization Act, tribal authorities exercised more discretion but federal supervision was still extensive. Agricultural extension agents, for example, were very active in reviewing applications for loans and in following up to secure payment. Loans were also subject to approval by superintendents. Quite recently federal supervision has been curtailed, the power of tribal authorities to act without approval has been extended and they have found themselves with a much greater share of the responsibility for management."

Other gains under the Indian Reorganization Act contributed to the atmosphere of hopefulness which gradually came to prevail in Indian communities during the New Deal.

Lack of an adequate source of credit and the technical advice needed to use credit effectively were prime reasons for the poverty reported in the Meriam survey. Some meager beginnings in supplying credit had been made in 1908 on a few reservations. The first general appropriation for this purpose was authorized in 1911, in the amount of $30,000.00; and annually thereafter similar small amounts became available. Repayments on these small loans were converted back into the United States Treasury and the money was lost to the credit program, unless re-appropriated. Under this program, government personnel purchased the items for which the money was borrowed, and in effect re-sold the items to the Indians--a procedure that permitted the Indian client scant opportunity to decide the kind, type, or quality of cattle or farming equipment he was acquiring. The Indian, whether he repaid his loan promptly or not, could not be assured of continued financing, since the amount available varied from year to year according to the appropriations made by Congress. Of over $7 million loaned during this earlier period, generally without planning or real participation by the Indian, approximately $500,000 was subsequently cancelled as uncollectable and about $2 million was still owing after ten or fifteen years and would never be collected.[8]

The record of transactions under the Indian Reorganization Act is in striking contrast. Between 1935 and about 1950 a total of $5,500,000 was appropriated, out of a combined authorization of $12,000,000, and to this credit pool Indian tribes added $1,800,000 of their own tribal funds. Since repayments went back into the revolving fund and became available for re-lending, it was possible during this period of years to make loans of approximately $17,000,000, including federal and tribal money.

The primary loan was made by the United States to a tribal corporation, credit association or cooperative group, and these bodies in turn loaned to individuals or tribal enterprises. The tribal corporation or the credit group assumed the responsibility of obtaining repayments, and moreover each client loan was based on careful planning between the tribal lending agency and the client. The individual made his loan purchases, usually on a tribal purchase order, with technical assistance provided as needed by tribal credit committee or the extension agent.

These factors in combination completely changed the credit record. On primary loans from the United States to tribal corporations, credit assonciations, and cooperative groups, 96.6 per cent had been repaid on their due date by June 30, 1960; 0.5 per cent had been extended; 0.5 per cent had been cancelled; and 2.2 per cent had been declared delinquent. As of June 30, 1960, in relending operations conducted by the tribal groups, 92.35 per cent had been repaid, 3.95 per cent had been extended, 1.78 per cent had been cancelled, 1.12 per cent had been declared delinquent, and 0.80 per cent were in process of liquidation. These latter figures do not include the Juneau Area.

The effectiveness of this credit program is reflected by other factors. For example, Indian-owned livestock, between 1932 and 1947, increased from 171,000 to 361,000 head. Total agricultural income to the Indians increased from $1,850,000 in 1932 to almost $49 million in 1947, the latter figure including about $12 million worth of farm products consumed at home. In these years also, Indians increased the acreage of croplands farmed by almost 400,000 acres; likewise they took over the operation of more than 7,000,000 acres of grazing land. These were lands which previously had been farmed or grazed by non-Indians. Indian operations were made possible as credit became available for investments in improvements, equipment, stock, etc.

The Indian Reorganization Act authorized a land acquistion program, through appropriation of funds and through the return to Indian ownership of certain ceded lands. Under this authority lands were acquired for tribes, bands, and groups of Indians whose land base had been drastically reduced or for whom no land had ever been provided. Plans were also formulated for consolidating scattered tracts of Indian-owned land through purchase, relinquishment, and other arrangements by which key tracts were obtained and blocked out to form economic units. Land was acquired under various authorities and appropriations, as follows:

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[8] Taken from Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1948.

Indian Reorganization Act funds	395,500 acres
Misscellaneous (gratuity appropriations, cancellation of reimbursable debts, etc.)	334,000 acres
Tribal funds	390,000 acres
Restoration of ceded lands (Sec. 3, Indian Reorganization Act)	965,000 acres
Special legislation (transferring public domain)	1,063,000 acres
Uintah and Ouray legislation	510,000 acres
Puertocito purchase (Navajo)	31,663 acres
Total	3,689,163 acres

These actions, briefly told, grew out of desperate need--but so effective were they that they brought an end to further property losses and even reversed the downward trend of Indian expectations. Then the effort weakened and finally stopped entirely.

The Abandonment of Progress

The lack of continuity in federal Indian policies and programs has done more to discourage Indian effort than perhaps any other aspect of administration. The shifts and reversals and repudiations occur not just every four years with changes in the national administration, but locally every change of a superintendent or other key official at the reservation level results in shifts and changes which after awhile become too bewildering to follow. The tourist who makes a quick trip to an Indian reservation and afterwards writes an article about the "apathetic" and "fatalistic" Indians can have no idea what it means to live in a situation where on twenty-four hour notice one program stops and another starts; one man leaves and another man comes to take his place; or a hospital or school is closed and the substitute institution is fifty or a hundred miles away in a strange community; or the United States decides to build a dam and flood out the homes that people have lived in since before the time of Columbus. The time comes when people give up trying to understand what is happening or to improve the situation in which they live.

This unhappy characteristic of Indian affairs administration is called to attention in the report of the Hoover Commission:9

> "The pessimistic conviction that no reform will be carried to a finish is so deeply embedded in the minds of reservation Indians, that it will have to be dealt with continually and persistently to overcome their

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9. Committee on Indian Affairs, Report to Hoover Commission, p. 22.

doubts and maintain their support. The personnel of the Indian Service is also affected by the same doubts.

> "Some of the policies written into law in the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934 have proved to be effective judged by any standards, yet the support for them has faded out nontheless. The loan program has produced good results and losses have been extremely small. Yet funds have not been made available in sufficient amounts to get the results that are possible. The land purchase program to round out Indian ownerships and establish Indian families on farms and ranches was launched with enthusiasm but it has languished. Today there are partially completed irrigation systems in which the land has not been subjugated, ditches have not been completed, and water has not been brought to the land because of lack of funds. An investment has been made but not been carried to the point where it brings in the full returns. This sort of shiftlessness is not a good example for Indian people whom it is supposed, we are teaching to be good businessmen. On some reservations a number of Indian families had made a good start in the cattle business before World War I. Then policy changed and their stock was sold. Twenty years later it was again the policy to get them established with their own herds. If there are a few skeptics who wonder if the weak support for the present policy does not augur another change, their doubts are understandable."

The closing sentence in the above paragraph, written in 1948 or perhaps earlier, was indeed prophetic. A basic policy change was even then in the making, in fact had been on its way for sometime.

The Indian Reorganization Act had encountered opposition even in its inception. The fact that the legislation in draft form was taken to the Indian people and discussed with them in regional conferences, where suggestion and criticism were invited-- a procedure that never before had been followed in the consideration of Indian legislation--did not silence the attacks. The law, as adopted, was permissive and was made applicable only on those reservations where it was adopted by a vote of the people. Again, an unprecedented procedure, and still the attacks continued.

For most part, this early opposition reflected a misunderstanding of the purposes of the Act. Perhaps it reflected a lack of confidence in the intentions of the government. Another gneralization that might be make, after reviewing the testimony in printed hearings, is that the Indians in 1934 were not ready to discuss basic policy reform. Their views had never been sought; it was still rather a rare thing for a tribal delegation to make the long trip to Washington to take sides either for or against proposed legislation.

Beginning in 1928 an investigating subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Indain Affairs held hearings throughout the Indian country and in time gathered mountainous data, consisting principally of complaints against local bureau employees and local conditions. Reports of these hearings were published in due course, on occasion a higher official would be reprimanded, but generally the cause of the complaint remained unsatisfied. The Indians had grown accustomed to inaction.

The Indian Bureau, of course, was vulnerable. The Meriam survey had revealed its many weaknesses, its inadequacies, its bureaucratic callousness to human misery. In the minds of many Indians and many private citizens other than Indians, nothing short of the abolition of the Bureau would accomplish any good. The men who had most to do with Indian policy in the Roosevelt administration, Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes and Commissioner of Indean Affairs John Collier, had been among the sharpest critics of the Bureau for some years prior to their assumption of office.

The culmination of this early phase of opposition is perhaps reflected in Senate Report No. 310 of the 78th Congress, 1943, which in 33 recommendations would not only eliminate the Indian Reorganization Act but in a matter of three years abolish the Indian Bureau completely.

A more substantial attack on the Bureau of Indean Affairs and its functions was mounted in the 80th Congress. That was the first Congress in more than twenty years in which control had passed to the Republican party and a determined effort was made to reduce expenditures. The executive branch, bureau by bureau, was hailed before appropriate Congressional committees and required to justify operations and costs.

Mr. William Zimmerman, then Acting Commissioner of Indian Affairs, was called before the Senate Committee on the Post Office and Civil Service and was asked to supply information as to what functions of the Bureau might be discontinued, what field agencies and employees might be eliminated, and what savings might be affected by these actions. The inquiry finally resolved itself into a question of what Indian tribes might be removed from federal supervision and responsibility as a first step toward reducing government costs. The Acting Commissioner, under subpoena, supplied three tribal lists. The first, a short one, indicated tribes from which federal supervision might be removed in the immediate future; the second, tribes from which supervision might be removed in a period of ten years; and a third list naming tribes that would need help and supervision for an indefinite period.

An effort was made to rationalize these divisions by setting up four criteria, roughly: (1) the extent or degree of acculturation of a given tribe; (2) the economic conditions of a tribe, as reflected in available resources; (3) the willingness of a tribe to dispense with federal assistance; and (4) the willingness and ability of the state in which the tribe was located to assume responsibility for the services extended to other citizens of the state. These criteria oontained many subjective factors, or they relied on data which actually did not exist. The listing of the tribes in the three categories, accordingly, could be characterized at best as an informed guess. Mr. Zimmerman understood this quite well, but so intent were some individuals in Congress to relieve the government of responsibility with respect to certain tribes and eventually for all tribes that this testimony was used, unfairly and often out of context, as a base from which to launch a new and vigorous attack against the reform programs of the previous twenty years.

In that same 80th Congress (Second Session) the effort of the Department of Interior to recognize and give legal status to the lands claimed and used by the Natives of Alaska came under vigorous attack.

The Treaty of 1867 by which Alaska was acquired from Russia provided that the United States would legislate in behalf of the Natives of Alaska and through such legislation determine the nature and extent of the rights of the Natives in the lands they occupied. Laws passed in 1884 and again in 1891 recognized that the Natives had valid rights in land and prohibited others from going upon or occupying lands in the actual possession of Natives. These were indefinite and inchoate rights which placed the burden of proof upon the Natives. In practice, the Natives gave way and made no effort to protect themselves against intrusion in their trapping areas and in the fisheries in southeastern Alaska.

Secretary of the Interior to designate as an Indian reservation any lands previously set aside for Native use, including in the designation any additional public lands actually occupied by Natives. However the designation would not become final until approved by a vote of the Natives, voting by secret ballot. During the years 1941-44 eight reservations were thus designated, of which six were ratified by the Natives and two were rejected.

The storm broke in 1946, when the Secretary proposed to establish sixteen additional reservations, subject to ratification by the Natives. Amid charges that the Secretary was attempting to turn over the territory of Alaska to the Natives and was blocking settlement and development of the territory's wealth, proposals were offered in Congress to revoke the Secretary's actions in creating the six reservations and to repeal the special Alaska amendment to the Indian Reorganization Act, thus depriving the Secretary of authority to create reservations in the future. These proposals failed, but the discussions centered around them and around Native rights swelled the attack against the government's Indian policy, and specifically against the Indian Reorganization Act.

In an effort to give some guidance to the discussion in Congress, the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1947 offered drafts of legislation which would provide for the creation of tribal corporate enterprises and would empower the tribes to carry on their own business as tribal entities, subject, during an interim period, to the advice and supervision of a local committee consisting of members appointed by the federal government, the state, and the tribe, However, the Congressional committees obviously favored more drastic measures. The tribal corporation approach suggested by the Bureau was ignored and thinking was directed toward liquidating the Indian service primarily by transferring its functions to other already existing agencies of the federal government. Thus, bills were proposed in that 80th Congress to transfer health work to the United States Public Health Service, Indian forestry and extension work to the Department of Agriculture, Indian irrigation to the Bureau of Reclamation, etc.

In a speech before the annual meeting of the Home Missions Council at Buckhill Falls, Pennsylvania, January 6, 1948, the Assistant Secretary of the Interior, William E. Warne, referred to these Congressional developments:

> "Wholesale and indiscriminate relinquishment of federal responsibilities for the protection of Indian property rights is not justifiable, however, and would be dangerous to the Indians. Many critics fail to discriminate adequately between those Indians who have progressed a long way toward assimilation, and those....who have as yet had little opportunity for association with non-Indians. As a matter of fact, it is easy, when discussing Indians in Oklahoma, to be so impressed with the economic and political competence of many representatives of the Five Civilized Tribes as to forget that there are several thousand members of these same tribes isolated in one hundred per cent Indian communities in the eroded Cookson Hills, and in eastern McCurtain County, who speak very little English, and who a few years ago had an average net annual cash income of $54.00 a year."

The trend of Congressional thinking is further indicated in the memorandum of August 5, 1952, addressed by Commissioner Dillon Myer to all Bureau officials, in which the Commissioner wrote:

> "I think it may be fairly said that current Congressional actions with regard to the Bureau of Indian Affairs and Indian appropriations indicate future appropriations will be limited largely to financing items which

> will facilitate withdrawal. This approach is already evident to both House and Senate with respect to appropriation of construction funds. Under this condition it is imperative that the Bureau develop and implement programs to assist Indians to become better qualified to manage their own affairs."

This memorandum was not a directive to Bureau personnel to organize programs designed to increase Indian management skills. The real purpose was to urge, on the part of all staff members, greater speed in devising methods and procedures by which the federal government might be relieved of responsibility in the Indian field. Thus, the Commissioner continued in his memorandum:

> "Full understanding by tribal membership should be attained in any event, and agreement with the affected Indian groups must be attained if possible. In the absence of such agreement, however, I want our differences to be clearly defined and understood by the Indians and ourselves. We must proceed, even though Indian cooperation amy be lacking in certain cases."

By 1950, when Dillon S. Myer was appointed Commissioner, the policy of rehabilitation and enlargement of physical resources, the advancement of local self-government, the acceptance of educational process as a guide to policy and action--all of which flowed from the recommendations contained in the Meriam report--was scrapped.

Beginning in 1948 the basic land policy of the Bureau was reversed, and instead of acquiring land to add to already inadequate resources, emphasis was placed on the removal of restrictions against sale, thus allowing Indian land to pass out of Indian ownership. In a ten-year period, 1948-57, a total of 2,595,414 acres of individually-owned trust land was removed from trust status, some of it for public purposes. The net acreage removed from trust status and made available for sale was 2,174,518 acres, or more than one-half of the area which had been painstakingly acquired since the enactment of the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934. Moreover, the land was moving out of trust status at an accelerating rate, as indicated by the fact that during the first five years of the period (1948-52) about 805,000 acres were involved, while in the final five-year period (1953-57) about 1,800,000 passed out of trusteeship.[10]

The credit program, which got off to such an encouraging start in the early years of the New Deal, experienced a similar shift of emphasis. Obviously, under a policy of withdrawal and under the compulsion of reduced appropriations, the expedient strategy for the Bureau was to reduce program wherever possible, regardless of the effect this might have on Indian development. A smaller land acreage under trusteeship would reduce the cost of administering it. Credit operations likewise could be reduced by advising Indians to avail themselves of commercial credit sources and by increasing the interest rate on loans from the federal revolving credit fund in order to encourage commercial borrowing. These devices were used, and by July, 1954 the program was practically at a standstill. This is reflected in the fact that at that time the unused cash balance in the loan fund was $5,280,000 or about $836,000 more than the total amount available in 1941.

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10. The association on American Indain Affairs, in its Newsletter for June, 1955, commented on the situation:

> "What are the reasons for this stagnation? Bureau officials reply blandly that applications for loans are not coming in, and that more and more credit is being obtained from other sources. Both of the answers may be true, but they tell only part of the story. The real reasons seem to be three: (1) Most important is the general understanding by Indians and Bureau employees that the commissioner wants to curtail lending and in time liquidate the revolving fund; (2) A recent change in the regulations, as a result of which loans may be made only for one year, is not understood by Indians and has deterred applications. Indians, knowing that certain projects cannot possibly pay out in less than five years, refuse to make one-year loans, for at the end of each year the burden is on the Indian to prove to Bureau officials that his loan should be renewed for another year; and (3) the last reason is lack of personnel. Determined to unburden the Bureau of agricultural extension services for Indians, the commissioner has been transferring responsibility for these services to states as rapidly as possible through Johnson-O'Malley contracts. The transfer of funds under these contracts has involved the transfer of money appropriated to the Bureau for extension activities plus a substantial sum otherwise available for credit operations. Thus, the Bureau's Branch of Credit is undermanned and immobilized."

Finally, we come to the so-called Termination policy, embodied in House Concurrent Resolution 108 of the 83rd Congress, 1st Sess., adopted August 1, 1953 (text reproduced on page 32), and realize that the effort and high promise of twenty years are abandoned. The basic educational process advocated by the Meriam Survey and implemented and carried forward under the Indian Reorganization Act, is nullified. Instead of social and economic betterment, the Indians are offered homelessness and deeper poverty than any they have known. And to add insult to injury, this is to be accomplished in the name of citizenship!

The first two whereas clauses of this resolution are not only at variance with the facts, they defame the Indian people. Fact 1: Indians are subject to the same laws and are entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as other citizens. Indians are citizens, without any qualifications or limitations. Fact 2: Indians are not, never have been, wards of the United States. The word has been loosely used and widely misinterpreted as a consequence of the trusteeship exercised by the United States over Indian property and of the exclusive jurisdiction exercised by the federal as opposed to state government. Fact 3: The rights and prerogatives of citizenship were conferred upon all Indians born within the United States by the Act of June 2, 1924. Fact 4: The Indians have assumed and do assume their full responsibilities as American citizens, in peace and in war. Like other citizens, they are exempt from certain taxes, and they are also like other citizens in prizing this lawful advantage.

The only apparent purpose of the whereas clauses is to provide a pious motive for the malicious policy enunciated in the body of the resolution. That policy would: (1) withdraw trust protection provided by treaty and statute for Indian lands and other property; (2) discontinue federal services, whether or not local or state governments are prepared or able to provide substitute services, and (3) devise legislative means to nullify treaty and statutory obligations to the Indian people.

When a patient is committed to a doctor's care and the doctor assumes responsibility, a definite relationship is established. The patient is to follow the doctor's advice; the doctor must strive to effect a cure. If, after a period of time, the patient fails to respond to treatment, it is not the doctor's privilege to abandon the patient or take action to hasten the patient's demise.

The Indian people in 1928 were ailing. As the Meriam survey indicated: "An overwhelming majority of the Indian people are poor, etc." In the intervening years, remedial measures were instituted. The patient showed signs of improving. The great war effort interrupted the flow of assistance to Indian communities--as a matter of fact, the Indians contributed heavily to that effort, as members of the armed services and as war industry workers. When the war ended and the Indians returned to their homes, expecting to resume their tribal and individual rehabilitation programs, they found an unwilling physician: a Congress that refused to provide funds for land purchase and development; a Department of the Interior that dried up the credit program.

The Navajo and Hopi Indians were saved by a blizzard that centered national publicity on their poverty. Other tribes, missed by the storms of that dreadful winter of 1947-48, were equally hungry, but the newspapers never discovered their plight.

By August 1953, the healing physician had peeled off his rubber gloves and removed his white gown. Indian reform was dead. The answer to poverty and social and economic maladjustment was termination.

The copy of House Concurrent Resolution 108, 83D is a part of this report.

HOUSE CONCURRENT RESOLUTION 108, 83D CONGRESS, 1ST SESSION

Passed August 1, 1953

Whereas it is the policy of Congress, as rapidly as possible, to make the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States subject to the same laws and entitled to the same privileges and responsibilities as are applicable to other citizens of the United States, to end their status as wards of the United States, and to grant them all of the rights and prerogatives pertaining to American citizenship; and

Whereas the Indians within the territorial limits of the United States should assume their full responsibilities as American citizens: Now, therefore, be it

***Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate concurring)*, That it is declared to be the sense of Congress that, at the earliest possible time, all of the Indians tribes and the individual members thereof located within the States of California, Florida, New York, and Texas, and all of the following named Indian tribes and individual members thereof, should be freed from Federal supervision and control and from all disabilities and limitations specially applicable to Indians: The Flathead Tribe of Montana, the Klamath Tribe of Oregon, the Menominee Tribe of Wisconsin, the Potowatamie Tribe of Kansas and Nebraska, and those members of the Chippewa Tribe who are on the Turtle Mountain Reservation, North Dakota. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that, upon the release of such tribes and individual members thereof from such disabilities and limitations, all offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs in the State of California, Florida, New York, and Texas and all other offices of the Bureau of Indian Affairs whose primary purpose was to serve any Indian tribe or individual Indian freed from Federal supervision should be abolished. It is further declared to be the sense of Congress that the Secretary of the Interior should examine all existing legislation dealing with such Indians, and treaties between the Government of the United States and each such tribe, and report to Congress at the earliest practicable date, but not later than January 1, 1954, his recommendations for such legislation as, in his judgment, may be necessary to accomplish the purposes of this resolution.**

Attest:

LYLE O. SNADER,
Clerk of the House of Representatives.

Attest:

J. MARK TRICE,
Secretary of the Senate.

APPENDIX 2

STATEMENT ON THE MENOMINEE TERMINATION ACT

Written for the AICC
June 8, 1961

Legislative Background

In 1952, the Menominee Tribe had on deposit in the U. S. Treasury an amount in excess of $10,000,000.00. A major portion of this had come from successful culmination of litigation against the United States. Understandably, members of the Tribe wished a per capita payment of some of this substantial amount. At the request of the Tribe, Wisconsin Senators and Congressmen introduced bills to provide for payment of $1,500.00 to each individual member of the Tribe, an amount which would exceed $4,000,000.00.

The bill sponsored by Congressman John Byrnes was adopted by the House of Representatives early in 1953. When it went to the Senate and tribal representatives appeared to testify in support, they were met by considerable reluctance on the part of the Senate Committee. The Senators expressed an opinion that the United States should be relieved of further obligation to continue supervision over the affairs of the Menominees because prior mismanagement had resulted in lawsuits against the United States. They expressed the view that the Menominees should, in order to obtain payment of some of their funds, accept legislation which would terminate the treaty-based obligation of the United States to continue such supervision. The Menominee representatives argued and said their people would not accept such a proposal. At their invitation, Senator Arthur V. Watkins, then Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee, traveled to the Menominee Reservation and talked to a General Council meeting of the Menominee Tribe. As the result, the Menominee General Council approved the principle of "termination".

The Menominee delegates returned to Washington and prepared to agree with Senator Watkins on specific provisions of the legislation. They were not able to do so - they felt Senator Watkins had back-tracked on some of the commitments he made to the Tribe. The Senate passed a bill which was objectionable to the Menominees. Since it varied from the House proposal, it went before a conference committee. Congressmen Byrnes and Melvin Laird of Wisconsin joined to persuade the House of Representatives to reject the conference report.

A new bill was introduced in 1954. Again, it was the subject of numerous hearings before a joint Senate-House committee and was dealt with in many informal conferences involving Menominee representatives, members of Congress and officials of the Department of the Interior. The Menominees still asked for a per capita distribution without termination, but to no avail. Senator Watkins and leading officials of the Department of the Interior informed them that they must accept termination as a prerequisite to obtaining distribution of their funds. They acquiesced and did their best to obtain the provisions which they thought most helpful to the Tribe. The original version of the Menominee Termination Act was passed by both houses of Congress and signed by the President on June 17, 1954.

The Menominees thereafter made several efforts to obtain what they considered more desirable provisions in amendments to the Termination Act. Two of these - in 1956 - provided that the United States would pay some of the costs of termination and would require that the Menominee Forest be operated on the principle of sustained yield. These amendments also provided that the tribe should formulate a proposal for future management of its property. This involved study by some of the best experts available. The State of Wisconsin, acting through its Legislature, had appointed a Menominee Indian Study Committee some time prior thereto.

The Menominee Indian Study Committee utilized the services of a committee from the University of Wisconsin. It did many studies on desirable forms of organization, including local government and business organizations. With the help of much expert assistance, the Menominee Tribe finally evolved a plan. It contemplated creation of a separate county consisting of the Menominee Reservation, creation of a business corporation (utilizing a voting trust consisting of four members of the Tribe and three outsiders) and many features involving cooperation with an adjoining county in an effort to minimize the county budget. This required state legislation. After much effort and persuasion, the Legislature of Wisconsin responded by adopting the plan substantially as submitted by the Menominee Tribe.

The need for state legislation, among other things, required additional time beyond that originally provided by Congress. After considerable indecision, this was approved by Congress in 1958. Even the new date for termination - December 31, 1960 - proved difficult to meet. Accordingly, in 1960, the Menominee delegates again made the trek to Washington. As usual, the House Committee was sympathetic but the Senate committee was not. A compromise resulted - the termination date was extended to April 30, 1961, but additional deadlines were imposed on the Tribe. All of these were met with much difficulty. The Congress did enact amendments which excused the Tribe from paying federal taxes on transfers of property required by the Termination Act.

Basics of Termination Plan

On April 29, 1961, the Secretary of the Interior, as required by the Menominee Termination Act, published the termination plan in the Federal Register. Wisconsin's 72nd County - Menominee County - became a reality on May 1, 1961. Its officials were designated by the Governor after recommendations by the Tribe. Elections will be held soon in accordance with the special legislation enacted by the Wisconsin Legislature. All business activities of the former Menominee Tribe are now handled by Menominee Enterprises, Inc. As indicated above, the corporate organization utilizes a voting trust. This means that the stock ownership of each individual member was assigned to the voting trust composed of seven persons. The sole function of those persons is to select the original Board of Directors of the corporation and fill vacancies as those occur. The Board of Directors is composed of nine persons, four members of the Tribe and five outsiders. All connected with the problems believe that excellent choices have been made for the voting trust and the Board of Directors. The president of the corporation is Mr. Leo Bodine, a former high operating official of Diamond Match Company. Mr. Bodine has had considerable experience in the timber business, the major activity of the Menominee Tribe and Menominee Enterprises, Inc.

Although termination has actually occurred, additional legislation is pending before the Congress. During April, 1961, the House of Representatives passed a bill which would authorize the Secretary of the Interior to lend, upon adequate security, not to exceed $2,500,000.00 to the new corporation. It would also authorize expenditure of an amount in excess of $400,000.00 to bring the sanitary facilities within Menominee County up to state standards. In addition, it would authorize, over a period of five years, grants in excess of $2,000,000.00 to assist the new county and the new corporation to get started. Much of this is required by unanticipated expenses growing out of "termination".

The Menominee delegates had requested that the termination date again be extended, but that request was denied by the House Committee and the House of Representatives. Other than that, those supporting the Menominee cause feel that the treatment at the hands of the House Committee and the House of Representatives was eminently fair. But a different climate still prevailed in the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs of the Senate. That committee authorized loans not to exceed

$1,500,000.00 and agreed to a grant of over $400,000.00 for construction of adequate sanitation facilities. It has, however, stubbornly refused to agree with the House to provide grants for other termination costs such as tuberculosis care, excess welfare loads, school costs (in lieu of usual federal aids for Indians), and other transitional requirements. The Senate bill was expected to be debated on the floor of the Senate early this month. It is understood that Wisconsin's two Senators, Wiley and Proxmire, are prepared to ask that the Senate reject the bill of its committee and substitute the House version. It is doubtful that this will happen. In that event, it will be necessary that the Senate and House versions be submitted to a conference committee. When that committee reports to both houses, each will have the opportunity to vote on it. Those sympathetic to the Menominee cause, are praying that the House version will prevail.

During the Chicago Conference it was the recommendation of Mrs. Irene Mack and other members of the Menominee Tribe that, should any tribe ever consider accepting termination, they conduct a thorough survey of all of the results, costs and legal implications of this program. They pointed out that only the favorable side was told to the members of their tribe, and that the cost of setting up a county government, the taking of land for highway right of way without remuneration, the cost of maintaining county services formerly paid for by the government were all either not mentioned or only slightly touched upon. The prospect of getting a per capita payment of $1500 looked big to the Indians, many of whom were in poor circumstances, but the losses which they incurred in taxes, and cost of county operation far exceeded any benefits that may have resulted from the termination program. They asserted that they had even had to purchase the land upon which their homes were located from the holding corporation which was set up in conjunction with termination. They therefore wished to go on record as warning all Indians and Indian tribes to beware of termination and not be misled by rosy promises.

APPENDIX 3

RESOLUTION CONCERNING TAXATION OF RESTRICTED INDIANS LIVING ON RESTRICTED LANDS

WHEREAS, there has been introduced in the U. S. Senate, S. 1911, which is a bill to amend the Internal Revenue Code of 1954, to provide that income derived by an Indian from tribal lands or allotted and restricted Indian lands shall not be subject to the income tax; And

WHEREAS, and when, this nation and the various Indian tribes met in formal councils and, into treaty agreements, whereby, and wherein, land cessions and reservations of land unto the various Indian tribes were made and agreed to by this government and the Indian tribes; and where, same were ratified by the U. S. Senate as in other treaties with foreign nations; And

WHEREAS, the legal significance of such agreements so ratified, become under the American Constitution, a part and parcel of the Supreme law of the land. Art. VI, Clause 2, The Constitution. And

WHEREAS, the Courts have held that such action by this nation with the Indian tribes results in the vesting of property right in the Indians; and that Congress or anyone else cannot disturb such vested rights. (Choate v. Trapp, 224 U. S. 665-674,) wherein the Court decided: "There is no question that the government may, in its dealings with the Indians, create property rights which, once vested, even it cannot alter; (citing many cases eliminated here) such property rights may result from agreements between the government and the Indians, whether the transaction takes the form of a treaty or of a Statute is immaterial; the important considerations are that there should be the essentials of a binding agreement between the government and the Indian and the resulting vesting of a property right in the Indians." Morrow v. United States, 243, Rev. Rep., 854, 846. And

WHEREAS, the government through its Bureau of Internal Revenue has been assessing taxes of every kind and character against the Indians in violation of the prohibitive decisions cited supra; And

WHEREAS, taxes against the Indians both personal and real were never intended nor dreamed of when treaties with the tribes were being negotiated unilaterally by this nation; And

WHEREAS, if taxes were then contemplated the government most assuredly would never have neglected to write such provisions into their treaties, every word of which, the government's treaty commissioners wrote for the acceptance of the Indians; And

WHEREAS, in a parallel case, that of Winter v. United States, 207 U. S. 664, the Supreme Court held: "Ambiguities accruing in the treaties will be resolved from the standpoint of the Indians. And the language used in the treaty should not be construed to the prejudice of the Indians." And

WHEREAS, the Bureau of Internal Revenue has repeatedly forced the Indians all over the Indian Country into the Federal Courts to defend against actions to assess and tax income derived from their restricted property both real and personal. And

WHEREAS, a treaty in point is the Crow Treaty of 1880, ratified by the U. S. Senate in 1882 which provided: "The title to be acquired by us, and all members of the Crow Tribe of Indians shall not be subject to alienation, lease, or encumbrance, either by the voluntary conveyance of the grantee or his heirs or by the Judgment, Order, or Decree of any Court, not be subject to taxation of any character, but shall remain inalienable and not subjected to taxation for a period of 25 years, or until such time as the President may see fit to remove the restrictions, which shall be incorporated in each patent." And

WHEREAS, and regardless of all the foregoing prohibitive court decisions, treaties and acts of Congress directing no taxes against the Indians; the Bureau of Internal Revenue, as stated, has issued at various times bulletins declaring the personal property of the Indians--livestock grazing on restricted lands--is subjected to the income tax law. And

WHEREAS, this Bureau issued Rev. Rule 58-64 Cumulative Bulletin 1958-1, p. 12, as several times, and which ruling held: "income derived from the sale of cattle raised on allotted and restricted Indian lands while such lands are held in trust by the United States, as trustee, under Sec. 5 of the General Allotment Act of 1887, is subject to Federal taxes." And

WHEREAS, there has now, as stated been introduced in the Congress, S. 1911, 87th Congress which is designed to correct and overcome this effort to tax, by the Internal Revenue Service, the Indians, in violation of their treaty agreements and the public policy. And

WHEREAS, such action is most necessary for the protection of their vested rights and economic well being. So now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, by the Chicago Indian Convention assembled this 16th day in the City of Chicago, Illinois, that they (the Indians), hereby, endorse for enactment into law at this session of the Congress, S. 1911 and recommend such action to the Congress, the President and the Secretary of Interior to assert the power and prestige of their respective offices to this end.

RESOLVED, further, that copies of this resolution be dispatched to the President, the President of the U. S. Senate, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Secretary of Interior.

ADOPTED, in the City of Chicago, Illinois, this 16th day of June, 1961

APPENDIX 4

RESOLUTION ON THE KINZUA DAM

President John F. Kennedy promised American Indians that under his administration "there would be no change in treaty or contractual relationships without the consent of the tribes concerned. No steps would be taken by the Federal government to impair the cultural heritage of any group. There would be protection of the Indian land base . . ."

The construction of the Kinzua Dam in Pennsylvania would violate the oldest United States treaty still in force without consent of the Seneca Nation of Indians.

The Kinzua Dam would seriously impair the Seneca cultural heritage.

The Kinzua Dam would destroy the treaty-protected land base of the Seneca Nation.

An honorable and practical solution is available: an alternative engineering plan which the Corps of Engineers concedes is feasible.

The breaking of Indian treaties and the taking of Indian land concerns all American Indians and all Americans. It is unthinkable that the United States should persist in the construction of a treaty-violating dam without at least the benefit of an impartial evaluation of a well-documented and allegedly far superior alternative.

Therefore, the delegates assembled at the American Indian Chicago Conference call upon the President of the United States to issue an executive order halting construction of the Kinzua Dam pending an impartial, competent comparison of its benefits and total costs with those of the alternative Plan 6, the Conewango-Cattaraugus Plan.

We look to this act of statesmanship as evidence of the new direction in Indian affairs so long overdue, and now promised by the present Administration.

PRESIDENT JOHN F KENNEDY
THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON D C

THIS ASSEMBLY OF MORE THAN FIVE HUNDRED INDIAN PEOPLE COMING FROM SIXTY-SEVEN TRIBES OF AMERICAN INDIANS RESPECTFULLY URGES YOU TO GIVE FULL AND CAREFUL CONSIDERATION BEFORE BREAKING THE TREATY OF 1794, AND ALSO GIVE CAREFUL CONSIDERATION TO ALL POSSIBLE ALTERNATIVES TO THE KINZUA DAM PROJECT ONLY YOU CAN STOP THE UNITED STATES FROM BREAKING ITS SOLEMN TREATY OF 1794 WITH THE SENECA NATION WE JOIN THE SENECA NATION IN THIS FINAL APPEAL THAT THE UNITED STATES HONOR THE TREATY SIGNED BY THE FIRST PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

AMERICAN INDIAN CHICAGO CONFERENCE
BY ANTHONY RIVERS, JR., ACTING CHAIRMAN
JUNE 19TH SESSIONS

APPENDIX 5

THE ALASKA SITUATION

SCHOOLS. There are 43 native schools in Alaska. There are no real problems within the incorporated towns. However, there are dozens of villages wholly native. The Hooper Bay area (Kuskokwim -- Yukon) alone has a population of over 10,000 Eskimos. Many of the federal schools have passed the half century mark and relief is only visible by the large signed on the outhouses -- Boys; Girls. In these areas more than 2,000 children are destined to reach adulthood without one day of school because there is no school either federal or state and the political situation is such that the State will not build the school plants. This is a condition that began in 1884. The state says the fault is with the United States and with that we have to agree. So we asked the Bureau of Indian Affairs to include in its Alaska school budget ample provision for these hapless children.

The secondary schools. The Mt. Edgecumbe federal school is theoretically an occupational school whose curriculum was formerly quite complete for its 600 students. But the boat shop was closed and while the Commissioner was promising continuance, the natives have built scarcely a single one of the 4,000 motor boats that have poured into the area. Two years of the business course were closed and the teacher fired because he fought for his kids. The occupational school at Wrangell has been turned into sort of an orphanage.

We cry for relief and pray that occupational schools of high school rank be reactivated and new ones opened in places accessible to the hordes of children now reaching for the doors of schools long promised but not yet there.

Economy under the I.R.A. Lacking only the capital, the Indians could only work for the outside capital which earned for many years 100% annually on their investment. The natives thought the enactment of the Wheeler-Howard Act would solve their problems since they had all the skills required and also the experience. But the result has been quite opposite and the reasons are: The Indian Board of Directors are mere figureheads. The Indian Office takes an assignment of all the extracted income of the corporation leaving the directors with no cash. Skipping the narration of a sad story, you can form your own conclusion from the fact that our four canneries are almost $4,500,000 in debt. In addition, after 20 years of cannery activity the Bureau has not trained one superintendent or even one book-keeper or cannery watchman. The remedy is to consolidate all the canneries under one board of directors elected by those who contribute services or material, distributing the benefits in proportion to their contributions and to cause the IRA to advance finances as a bank would and in accordance with trade practices, it being understood that the board of directors would employ all administrative and consulting services including accountants and attorneys.

APPENDIX 6

RESOLUTION ON QUECHAN WATER RIGHTS

WHEREAS, the Quechan Tribal Council and Tribe functioning in accordance with Section 16 of the Indian Reorganization Act of June 18, 1934 (48 Stat. 984) as amended by the Act of June 15, 1935 (49 Stat. 378). And

WHEREAS, the Quechan Tribe, as a free Nation, enjoying the right to protect and maintain their inhabitants of their liberty, property and religion, claiming equity as citizens of this great nation, And

WHEREAS, the violation of Guadalupe Hidalgo Treaty, guaranteed the rights of the Americans and Indians in the territory acquired by and ceded to the United States, along with supreme water rights, And

WHEREAS, the Quechan Tribe has enjoyed these privileges since time immemorial, And

WHEREAS, the policies set down by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in regard to the irrigation program and general welfare program of the Fort Yuma Indian Reservation exist, And

WHEREAS, the recent recommendations of Master Rinkiff in giving the Quechan Tribe prior rights to the Colorado River water, over opposing suit, And

WHEREAS, the Quechan Tribal Council respectfully uphold the rulings of Master Rinkiff and hold this sacred right to utilize and live and prosper as this has been our God-given right,

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Quechan Tribal Council petition the American Indian Chicago Conference to declare its voice and guidance in the moral fight and stand to secure and to maintain heritages that have been enjoyed by the Quechan Tribe in keeping our supreme water rights.

ADOPTED June 17, 1961

LEROY WARD Leroy Ward
Chairman

LEE EMERSON Lee Emerson
Vice Chairman

QUECHAN TRIBAL COUNCIL

P.O. Box 1169, Yuma, Arizona

ATTEST:

Priscilla Menta
COUNCILWOMAN PRISCILLA MENTA

COUNCILMAN EDMOND JACKSON JR.

Harold Chaipos Sr.
COUNCILMAN HAROLD CHAIPOS SR.

APPENDIX 7

LETTER CONCERNING INTER-AMERICAN INDIAN INSTITUTE

Dr. Miguel Leon-Portilla
Director Inter-American Indian Institute
Niños Heroes # 139
Mexico, D. F.
Mexico

July 17, 1961

American Indian Chicago Conference
The University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Dear fellow Americans:

It has been for me both a privilege and a pleasure to have made personal contact with American Indians North of the Latin American border.

In my work with the Inter-American Indian Institute, an inter-hemisphere organization in which the United States and most of the Latin American governments participate I have been made aware of your problems and the many things you have in common with the 30 million Indians who live in the Latin American continent.

Let me express my earnest desire to see closer relations between the Indian peoples of all the Americas, specially in these difficult times, when our peoples ought to share in common ideals and realities.

I would be very much interested in developing concrete ways of collaboration between our peoples to help achieve for all North and Latin American Indians better ways of life in a free society.

Expressing my best wishes for the success of the conference, I remain

Cordially yours,

S/ M. Leon-Portilla
Dr. Miguel Leon-Portilla

At the AICC
Chicago, Illinois

APPENDIX 8

AICC INDIAN REGISTRATION

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
ACKLEY, CHARLES	CHIPPEWA	219 20th AVE. S., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
ADDISON, CECIL	MOHAWK-CHEROKEE	85 AVON ST., NEW HAVEN, CONN.
ADKINS, CHIEF O. OLIVER	CHICKAHOMINY	RFD 1, BOX 118, PROVIDENCE FORGE, VA.
ADOLPH, VINCENT	COLVILLE	OMAK, WASHINGTON
AIKENS, HANNAH	DELAWARE	4730 BRANDON, DETROIT 9, MICH.
AMES, DONALD	CHIPPEWA	BAD RIVER RESERVATION, WISCONSIN
ANDERSON, JOHN A.	CHIPPEWA	COUDERAY, WISCONSIN
ARCHAMBAULT, JOHN	SIOUX	BULLHEAD, SOUTH DAKOTA
ARCHIQUETTE, OSCAR	ONEIDA	ONEIDA ROUTE 1, WISCONSIN
ARTISHON, GEORGE B.	CHIPPEWA	217 4th AVE. S., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
ARVISO, VIVIAN	NAVAJO	311 E. PERSHING, GALLUP, NEW MEXICO
ASHLEY, MRS. RACHEL	SIOUX	DENVER, COLORADO
ATALOA	CHICKASAW	1924 N. CATALINA, LOS ANGELES, CAL.
BARSE, REVA C.	SENECA	15036 ROCKWELL, HARVEY, ILLINOIS
BEARSKIN, BEN	WINNEBAGO-SIOUX	452 W. NORTH AVE., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BEARSKIN, FREDDIE	WINNEBAGO	452 W. NORTH AVE., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BEARSKIN, NORMA JEAN	WINNEBAGO-SIOUX	452 W. NORTH AVE., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BEAULIEU, ISAAC	OJIBWA	411 CHAPEL ST., OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA
BEAULIEU, MRS. ISAAC	OJIBWA	411 CHAPEL ST., OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA
BEAVER, FRANK	WINNEBAGO	WINNEBAGO, NEBRASKA
BEHAN, GERALD	SIOUX	2943 N. SHERIDAN RD., CHICAGO, ILL.
BELGARDE, CHARLES	CHIPPEWA	MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
BELGARDE, MRS. CHARLES	CHIPPEWA	MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
BELVIN, B. FRANK	CHOCTAW	1819 S. DELAWARE, OKMULGEE, OKLAHOMA
BIG BEAR, WANDA (PRINCESS WHITE BEAVER)	SIOUX	423 E. NORTH ST., INDIANAPOLIS, IND.
BIG JOHN, DOLLI	WINNEBAGO	957 OAKDALE (WEST), CHICAGO 14, ILL.
BILLISON, SAMUEL	NAVAJO	BOX 211, WINDOW ROCK, ARIZONA
BIRD, NATHAN	WINNEBAGO	1872 N. HOWE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BLACKOWL, BILL	CHEYENNE & COMANCHE	4504 N. RACINE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BLACKOWL, HELEN H.	WINNEBAGO & CHIPPEWA	4504 N. RACINE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BLACKSMITH, WILBUR	ROSEBUD SIOUX	ROSEBUD, SOUTH DAKOTA
BLATCHFORD, HERBERT	NAVAJO	BOX 892, GALLOP, NEW MEXICO
BLUE, MRS. PEARL	SIOUX	MORTON, MINNESOTA
BLUEBIRD, NORMA	OGLALA SIOUX	ALLAN, SOUTH DAKOTA
BODAH, MRS. RITA	MENOMINEE	KESHANA, WISCONSIN
BOUNDING ELK, RICHARD	PENOBSCOT NATION	23-G SOUTH APTS., U. OF MAINE, ORONO, ME.
BOUNDING ELK, MRS. RICHARD	PENOBSCOT NATION	23-G SOUTH APTS., U. OF MAINE, ORONO, ME.
BOWANNIE, FRED	ZUNI	BOX 69, ZUNI,NEW MEXICO
BOWEN, RALPH E.	SENECA	BOX 117, REDHOUSE, NEW YORK
BROGH, ZARA CISCOE	HASSANAMISCO	HASSANAMISCO RESERVATION, GRAFTON, MASS.
BROWN, FRITZ E.	QUECHAN	BOX 119, WINTER HAVEN, CALIFORNIA
BROWN, GERALD L.	FLATHEAD	3918 17th STREET, SAN FRANCISCO 14, CAL.
BROWN, FATHER JOSEPH	BLACKFEET	PRYOR, MONTANA
BROWN, JOHN	SEMINOLE	SASAKWA, OKLAHOMA
BUCK, JAKE	CREEK	6941 S. RACINE, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
BURGESS, WYNEMA	CREEK	ROUTE 1, BROKEN ARROW, OKLAHOMA
BURKE, BURGESS	PIMA	ROUTE 1, BOX 907X, SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA
BURNETTE, ROBERT	ROSEBUD SIOUX	ROSEBUD, SOUTH DAKOTA
BUSHYHEAD, DENNIS	CHEROKEE	CLAREMORE, OKLAHOMA
CAIN, EVA B.	WINNEBAGO	SOUTH SIOUX CITY, NEBRASKA
CAMPBELL, NORMAN R.	SIOUX	WELCH, MINNESOTA
CARPENTER, ANSEL	SIOUX	1346 CONN. AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON D.C.
CARSON, FRANK	OTOE' MISSION	2215 N. IONE, SHAWNEE, OKLAHOMA
CAVENDER, MRS. CHRIS	SIOUX	GRANITE FALLS, MINNESOTA
CHAIPOS, HAROLD	QUECHAN	BOX 401, WINTERHAVEN, CALIFORNIA
CHARETTE, MRS. FRANCES	CHIPPEWA	512 N. PLYMOUTH, MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA
CHEW, GERTRUDE	TUSCARORA	SANBORN, NEW YORK
CHEW, SHIRLEY	TUSCARORA	SANBORN, NEW YORK
CHICO, FELIX	PAPAGO	3715 N. HALSTEAD, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CHOSA, BEN	CHIPPEWA	LAC DU FLAMBEAU, WISCONSIN
CIMINO, PETE	CHIPPEWA	3943 S. DORCHESTER, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CLEVELAND, STEVE	COLVILLE	BREWSTER, WASHINGTON
COBE, AL	CHIPPEWA	255 S. MARION, OAK PARK, ILLINOIS
CONNORS, FRED	CHIPPEWA	BAD RIVER RESERVATION, WISCONSIN

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
CONROY, HARRY	SIOUX	MARTIN, SOUTH DAKOTA
COOKA, GERTRUDE G.	HOPI-CHEYENNE	KEAMS CANYON, ARIZONA
CORDIER	SIOUX	1646 W. OHIO ST., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CORNEILSON, TOM	CHEROKEE & ALGONQUIN	156 WHITEHALL RD., ALBANY, NEW YORK
CORNELIUS, MYRON	ONEIDA	WEST DEPERE, WISCONSIN
CRAIN, ALLAN	SEMINOLE	SASAKWA, OKLAHOMA
CROWE, JACQUELINE	CHIPPEWA	ODANAH, WISCONSIN
CROWFOOT, BULLA	CHEROKEE	1647 N. WELLS ST., CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
CRUTCHER, FLOYD	PAIUTE	BOX 46, MC DERMITT, NEVADA
CUMMINS, JOHN B.	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONTANA
CUNEY, HAZEL L.	OGLALA SIOUX	3926 W. ST. LOUIS, RAPID CITY, SOUTH DAKOTA
CURRUTH, ALVERTO	COCOPAH	YUMA, ARIZONA
DAILEY, CHARLES	LAGUNA PUEBLO	1505 HOFFMAN DR., N.E., ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.
DAILEY, DEWEY W.	OTOE & MISSOURI	RT. 2 EAST, RED ROCK, OKLAHOMA
DAILEY, TONITA	PUEBLO, SANTA CLARA	1505 HOFFMAN DR., N.E., ALBUQUERQUE, N.M.
DANFOITH, AMY	ONEIDA	ONEIDA RT. 1, WISCONSIN
DANIELS, HARRIET	SIOUX	5477 ELLIS, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
DARDARE, HELEN RUTH	CHOCTAW	2407 BAYOU RD., NEW ORLEANS, LA.
DAUPHINAIS, PEARL	CHIPPEWA	715 26th AVE., S., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
DAUPHINAIS, VONDA	CHIPPEWA & SIOUX	715 26th AVE., S., MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
DAVID, DOROTHY	STOCKBRIDGE-BRIDGE	WAUWATOSA, WISCONSIN
DAVIDS, ELMER	STOCKBRIDGE-MUNSEE	BOWLER, WISCONSIN
DAVIDSON, JACK	CHOCTAW	BEDOUIN TEMPLE, MUSKOGEE, OKLA.
DECORSE, HENRY	QUECHAN	1302 FIFTH AVE., YUMA, ARIZONA
DECORAH, MRS. MATHILDA	WINNEBAGO	RT. 5, BURLINGTON, WIS.
DECORAH, NATHANIEL	WINNEBAGO	RT. 5, BURLINGTON, WIS.
DECORAH, SYLVIA	WINNEBAGO	348 S. HOMAN AVE., CHICAGO, ILL.
DEER, ALFRED	CREEK	WEWOKA, OKLAHOMA
DEERNOSE, AGNES	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONTANA
DEERNOSE, DON	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONTANA
DELONEY, GEORGE C.	CHIPPEWA	3221 N. CLARK ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
DELORIA, FATHER VINE	STANDING ROCK SIOUX	501 N. HURON, PIERRE, S. D.
DE PERRY, GERALD	CHIPPEWA	BAYFIELD, WIS.
DOMINIC, ROBERT	OTTAWA-CHIPPEWA	911 FRANKLIN ST., PETOSKEY, MICH.
DOMINIC, WAUNETTA	OTTAWA	911 FRANKLIN ST., PETOSKEY, MICH.
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DOZIER, DR. EDWARD P.	SANTA CLARA PUEBLO	UNIVERSITY OF ARIZ., TUCSON, ARIZ.
DUDLEY, PHILLIP C.	YANKTON SIOUX	RAVINIA, SOUTH DAKOTA
DUFFY, PATRICK	CHIPPEWA	BAYFIELD, WIS.
EAGLE BULL, LLOYD	SIOUX	PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
ECKIWARDY, EMERSON	COMANCHE	CAMERON JR. COLLEGE, LAWTON, OKLA.
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EMERSON, LEE	QUECHAN	WINTER HAVEN, CALIFORNIA
EMERSON, THELMA	QUECHAN	" "
EMERY, CHARLES	SIOUX	CHERRY CREEK, S. D.
EMERY, MRS. CHARLES	SIOUX	" "
ENGLISH, INEZ	CHIPPEWA	2119 SEDWICK, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
ENGLISH, MELVIN	SIOUX	2014 WEST FREEMAN, CLEVELAND, OHIO
ENGLISH, SUSAN	SIOUX	" " " "
ENOS, RAYMOND J.	PIMA	P. O. BOX 1241, SCOTTSDALE, ARIZONA
ESCHIEF, BERNADINE	SHOSHONE-BANNOCK	FT. HALL, IDAHO
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ESTEVAN, FRANK	ACOMA-PUEBLO	BOX 318, SAN FIDEL, NEW MEXICO
ESWONIA, LEROY	MOJAVE	P. O. 2553, PARKER, ARIZONA
EVANS, ERMA	STOCKBRIDGE MUNSEE	1523 N. 27th ST., MILWAUKEE,WIS.
ENZAMNA, CHIEF	CREEK	
FASTWOLF, FRANK	SIOUX	7323 S. SANGAMON, CHICAGO, ILLINOIS
FASTWOLF, PHYLLIS	ONEIDA SIOUX	" " " "
FAULKNER, ROSE	CHIPPEWA	3943 S. FRANCISCO, SALEM, OREGON
FEDER, SADIE MRS.	SAC AND FOX	2307 S. WEST 27th ST., OKLAHOMA CITY,OKLA
FINLEY, DAN	COLVILLE	INCHELIUM, WASHINGTON
FIRE, JIM V.	ARAPAHO	ELRENO, OKLAHOMA
FISHER, FERN	OTOE MISSOURI	805 SUGAR MAPLE, PONCA CITY, OKLA.
FLETCHER, MILTON	CHEROKEE	566 E. 232, EUCLID, OHIO
FORREST, ERIN	PITTRIVER	BOX 763, ALTURAS, CALIFORNIA
FOSS, MRS. ROSE	CHIPPAWA	3200 PORTLAND, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
FOURSTAR, LESLIE	ASSINIBOINE	FORT PECK, MONTANA
FOX, ROBERT	FORT BERTHOLD	EMMET, NORTH DAKOTA
FRANCISCO, ENOS	PAPAGO	SELLS, ARIZONA
FRAZIER, PHILIP	SIOUX	McLAUGHLIN, SOUTH DAKOTA

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
FRAZIER, SUSIE MEEK	SAC & FOX	McLAUGHLIN, SOUTH DAKOTA
FRECHETTE, JAMES	MENOMINEE	KESHENA, WIS.
FREDERICKS, WHITE BEAR	HOPI	BOX 127, ORAIBI, ARIZONA
FUNMAKER, KENNETH	WINNEBAGO	1802 MOHAWK, CHICAGO, ILL.
FUNMAKER, PAULINE	WINNEBAGO	1659 N. VINE, CHICAGO, ILL.
FUNMAKER, HARRY	WIS. WINNEBAGO	" " " "
FUNMAKER, RUBY	SAC AND FOX	1802 MOHAWK, CHICAGO, ILL.
GARRY, JOSEPH R.	COEUR D'ALENE	RTE. 1, PLUMMER, IDAHO
GAY, LEIL	SIOUX	911 E. 140th, CLEVELAND, OHIO
GEORGE, LENORA	CAYUGA	15036 ROCKWELL, HARVEY, ILL.
GEORGE, OSWALD C.	COEUR D'ALENE	RTE. 1, PLUMMER, IDAHO
GERARD, FORREST J.	BLACKFEET	6059 N. 9th ST., ARLINGTON VA.
GILLETTE, BRENDA	GROS VENTRE ARICKRARA	EMMET, NORTH DAKOTA
GILPIN, ALFRED W.	OMAHA	BOX 57, MACY, NEBRASKA
GOETTING, RAY	CADDO	1105 FRANCISCAN, GRANTS, NEW MEXICO
GOETTING MRS. RAY	PUEBLO	" " " "
GONZALES, LEONA	TUSCARORA	MOUNT HOPE ROAD, SANBORN, N.Y.
GONZALES, PRISCILLA	AGUA CALIENTE	PALM SPRINGS, CAL.
GONZALES, RUDY	TUSCARORA	MOUNT HOPE ROAD, SANBORN, N.Y.
GOODHOUSE, LOUIE	SIOUX	FORT COTTON, NORTH DAKOTA
GOOD IRON, ALFREDA	MANDAN	2206 NORTH MILWAUKEE, CHICAGO, ILL.
GOUDY, AL	YAKIMA	YAKIMA, WASHINGTON
GRANT, LEON	OMAHA	FLAGSTAFF, ARIZONA
GREENDEER, FRED	WINNIBAGO	550 WEST MELROSE ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
GREENDEER, GEORGE	ONEIDA-WINNEBAGO	" " " "
GREENDEER, MARY	ONEIDA	" " " "
GROVES, JUANITA (LA ROSE)	UTE	MYTON, UTAH
HALL, JAMES, SR.	GROS VENTRE	NEWTOWN, NORTH DAKOTA
HALL, LELAND	GROS VENTRE	" " "
HARDIN, ROSS E.	PAIUTE	BOX 61 MCDERMITT, NEVADA
HARRIS, MABLE	SAC AND FOX	RTE. 1, STROUD, OKLA.
HART, JOHN A.	CHIPPEWA	LUCK, WISCONSIN
HAWKINS, HANK	SNOHOMISH	11503 87th AVE. SO., SEATTLE 88, WASH.
HAYBALL, A. M.	SHOSHONE	BOX 32, FORT HALL, IDAHO
HAYBALL, NORMAN	SHOSHONE	" " "
HERON, GEORGE	SENECA	RED HOUSE, NEW YORK
HILL, MRS. ELLEN	O'NEIDA	R.R. 1, ONEIDA, WIS.
HOLDING, FRANCES	OSAGE	STAR RTE. B, BOX 1, HOMINY, OKLA.
HOLLOWBREAST, WILLIAM	NORTHERN CHEYNNE	LAMEDEER, MONTANA
HOLSTEIN, DOROTHY	WINNEGABO	2950 NORTH GRESHAM, CHICAGO 18, ILL.
HOLY ROCK, JOHNSON	OGLALA SIOUX	PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA
HOMER, PETE, SR.	MOHAVE	PARKER, ARIZONA
HOMERATHA, HORTON	OTOE	1413 SE. 41st, OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.
HOOD, HIAWATHA	YAVAPAI	502 W. OAK, CHICAGO, ILL.
HOPKINS, HARRY	MISSION	BOX 4032, BEAUMONT, CALIF.
HOSAY, ALEXANDER	CHIRICAHUA APACHE	1305 S. 12TH, ST. LOUIS, MO.
HOWARD, J. DAN	SIOUX	MORRISTOWN, S. D.
HOWARD, WILBUR	ARIKARA	ALEXANDRIA, KY.
HUNSINGER, MRS. RUTH	(ROSEBUD) BRULE	2904 38TH ST., RAPID CITY, S. D.
JACKSON, AMBROSE	PIMA	ST.JOHNS MISSION HIGH SCHOOL, LAVEEN, ARIZ.
JACKSON, EDMOND, JR.	QUECHAN	BOX 1745, YUMA, ARIZ.
JACOBS, BLANCHE	STOCKBRIDGE MUNSEE	1242 A WEST WASHINGTON, MILWAUKEE, WIS.
JACOBS, LAWRENCE	STOCKBRIDGE MUNSEE	1214 SO. 9TH ST., MILWAUKEE, WIS.
JAKE, YETTA	PIAUTE	CEDAR CITY, UTAH
JAMES, EARL	WASHOE	WOODFORDS, CALIF.
JOHNS, EDITH	WINNEBAGO-NEZ PERCE	2861 NO. BROADWAY, CHICAGO, ILL.
JOHNSON, EVA	MENOMINEE	2638 NO. HALSTED ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
JOHNSON, N. B.	CHEROKEE	OKLAHOMA CITY, OKLA.
JOHNSON, ROBINSON	WINNEBAGO	1637 W. 51ST ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
JOHNSON, STELLA	WINNEBAGO	1912 NO. FREMONT, CHICAGO, ILL.
JOURDAIN, MRS. C. A.	CHIPPEWA	65 E. FRANKLIN, MINNEAPOLIS, MINN.
JOURDAIN, ROGER A.	RED LAKE BAND OF CHIPPEWAS	RED LAKE, MINN.
JOZHE, BENEDICT	APACHE	P.O. BOX 308, APACHE, OKLA.
JUMPING EAGLE, IRVING	OGLALA SIOUX	EAGLE BUTTE, S. D.
KABANCO	POTTAWATOMI	1640 NO. 21ST AVE., MELROSE PARK, ILL.
KABOTIE, FRED	HOPI	ORAIBI, ARIZ.
KAGMEGA, JAMES	POTTAWATOMI	MAYETTA, KANS.
KATHITHA, PRINCESS -CLARA B. ADDISON	NARRAGANSETT	85 AVON ST., NEW HAVEN, CONN.
KEAHNA, COLUMBUS	MESQUAKIE	806 W. DICKENS, CHICAGO, ILL.
KEAHNA, MRS. COLUMBUS	MESQUAKIE	806 W. DICKENS, CHICAGO, ILL.
KEELER, W. W.	CHEROKEE	1118 DEWEY, BARTLESVILLE, OKLA.
KENNEDY, MRS. DOROTHY	SENECA	IRVING, N. Y.

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
KENNEDY, LA FAYETTE JACK	SENECA	IRVING, N. Y.
KENNEDY, LUCY	WINNEBAGO	WINNEBAGO, NEBR.
KETCHESHAWNO, AMELIA	SAC AND FOX	MC CLOUD, OKLA.
KETCHESHAWNO, SHIRLEY	KICKAPOO	MC CLOUD, OKLA.
KETCHESHAWNO, WILLIE	KICKAPOO	MC CLOUD, OKLA.
KIRK, FRIEDA	KLAMATH	BOX 313, CHILOQUIN, ORE.
KITCHEN, MILDRED	AGUA CALIENTE	PALM SPRINGS, CAL.
LA CLAIRE, LEO	MUCKLESHOOT	710 - 4TH ST., AUBURN, WASH.
LADEAUX, FILMORE	SIOUX	1812 W. ERIE, CHICAGO, ILL.
LA FORGE, ALEX	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONT.
LA FORGE, MRS. ALEX	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONT.
LA MERE, ROSALIE	ONEIDA	504 W. 33RD ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
LA MERE, WILLARD	WINNEBAGO	504 W. 33RD ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
LA PEARL, CLEO	ONEIDA	1318 HIGHLAND AVE., BERWYN, ILL.
LA PLANTE, ED	CHIPPEWA	3167 N. 15TH ST., MILWAUKEE, WIS.
LA POINT, PETER	WINNEBAGO	406½ ELIZABETH AVE.S.,ALBERT LEA,MINN.
LA ROSE, STELLA	UTE	ROOSEVELT, UTAH
LASLEY, WALTER G.	SAC AND FOX	51 9TH STREET,OAKLAND 7, CALIF.
LE CLAIRE, PETER	PONCA	FAIRFAX, S. D.
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MAYNOR, OLIVIA	LUMBEE	PEMBROKE, N. C.
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MINER, KATE THUNDER	WIS. WINNEBAGO	3400 ROSE, FRANKLIN PARK, ILL.
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MONGUSE, EDWARD	KEWEENAU INDIAN COM.(CHIPPEWA)	BARAGA, MICH.
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MORE, MRS. IRENE	ONEIDA	SEYMOUR, WIS.
MORIGEAU, E. W.	FLATHEAD	POLSON, MONTANA EAST SHORE ROUTE
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OLD PERSON, EARL	BLACKFEET	BROWNING, MONT.
ONEFEATHER, JOE	OGLALA SIOUX	PINE RIDGE, S. D.
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OWL, GEORGE A.	CHEROKEE	CHEROKEE, N. C.
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PITTS, PAUL	OSAGE	PAWHUSKA, OKLAHOMA
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POTTS, MARIE	MAIDU	2727 SANTA CLARA WAY, SACRAMENTO, CALIF.
POWER, SUSAN L.	STANDING ROCK SIOUX	423 BLACKHAWK, APT. 5P1, CHICAGO, ILL.
POWLESS, ELI	ONEIDA	3410 S. BELL ST., CHICAGO, ILL.
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REAL BIRD, EDISON	CROW	CROW AGENCY, MONTANA
REAL BIRD, JAMES	CROW	CROW AGENCY, MONTANA
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RICHARDSON, W. R.	HALIWA	HOLLISTER, NOTH CAROLINA
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SINE, SAMSON	WINNEBAGO	UTICA, ILL.
SKENADORE, ABBIE	ONEIDA	ONEIDA, WIS.
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SMITH, JUANITA	CHIPPEWA	830 N. ALTGELD, CHICAGO, ILL.
SMITH, KENNETH (STRONG HORSE)	PUEBLO, EAST NARRAGANSETT	74 FREMONT ST., MERIDEN 13, CONN.
SMITH, KERMIT	ASSINABOINE SIOUX	FORT PECK, MONT.
SMITH, LOTTIE M.	MOHAWK	13143 LONGVIEW, DETROIT 15, MICH.
SMITH, WILLIAM R.	ASSINABOINE SIOUX	FORT PECK, MONT.
SOMAN, MICHAEL	MENOMINEE	NEOPIT, WIS.
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STATELY, LOUIS F.	RED LAKE BAND OF CHIPPEWA	RED LAKE, MINN.
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TILLAHASH, ARTHUR	SHIWIVITS BAND OF PIAUTES	ST. GEORGE, UTAH
TINSLEY, JOHN	CHOCTAW	PHILADELPHIA, MISS.
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TORO, PHILBERT	PAPAGO	TUCSON, ARIZ.
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WAHENEKA, GRANT	WARM SPRINGS	1187 NO. U.S. 23, EAST TAWAS, MICH.
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WELCH, MARGARET	SIOUX CHIPPEWA	MILWAUKEE, WIS.
WELLS, RALPH	ARICKARA	RAUB, N. D.
WELSH, MRS. HELENE C.	OJIBAWAY	L'ANSE, MICH.
WESLEY, CLARENCE	SAN CARLOS APACHE	SAN CARLOS, ARIZ.
WESO, JENNIE	MENOMINEE	KESHENA, WIS.
WESO, MONROE M.	MENOMINEE	KESHENA, WIS.
WEST, KENNETH H.	CHEYENNE RIVER SIOUX	EAGLE BUTTE, S. D.

NAME	TRIBE	HOME ADDRESS
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WHISTLER, REX	SAC AND FOX	NORMAN, OKLA.
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WHITE, MRS. FELIX	WINNEBAGO	WINNEBAGO, NEBR.
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WHITE EAGLE, JOHN	WISCONSIN WINNEBAGO	5187 MAC ARTHUR BLVD., WASHINGTON 16, D.C.
WHITE EAGLE, MRS. JOHN, SR.	WINNEBAGO	5187 MAC ARTHUR BLVD., WASHINGTON 16, D.C.
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WHITE EAGLE, LUVERNE	WINNEBAGO	WISCONSIN
WHITE EAGLE, ROSANNA	WINNEBAGO	5187 MAC ARTHUR BLVD.,N.W.,WASHINGTON 16,D.C.
WHITEMAN, ARLIS	CROW	LODGE GRASS, MONT.
WHITERABBIT, MITCHELL	WINNEBAGO	RT.4,WINNEBAGO INDIAN MISSION, BLACK RIVER FALLS, WIS.
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WILBER, EDWIN	MENOMINEE	KASHENA, WISC.
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WILBER, WILBUR	MENOMINEE	KASHENA, WISC.
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YOUNG MAN, ETTA	SIOUX	PINE RIDGE, SOUTH DAKOTA

APPENDIX 9

ROSTER OF COMMITTEES

Chairmen (one for each day)

Justice Earl Welch, Chickasaw, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma
Justice N. B. Johnson, Cherokee, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma - June 14
Edison Real Bird, Crow Agency, Montana (Crow) - June 15
Clarence Wesley, San Carlos, Arizona (San Carlos Apache) - June 16
Raymond Enos, Scottsdale, Arizona (Pima) - June 17
Anthony Rivers, Eagle Butte, South Dakota (Cheyenne River-Sioux) - June 19
Mrs. Catherine Prebble, Rulo, Nebraska (Kansas-Nebraska-Iowa) - June 20

Credentials Committee

Waunetta Dominic, Peteskey, Michigan (Ottawa)
Agnes Savilla, Parker, Arizona (Mojave)
Harry H. Hopkins, Beaumont, California (Mission)
Robert Burnette, Rosebud, South Dakota (Rosebud - Sioux)

Leo Vocu, Kyle, South Dakota (Oglala Sioux)
Emmet York, Philadelphia, Mississippi (Choctaw)
Mrs. Irene Mack, Neopit, Wisconsin (Menominee)
Mrs. Marie Potts, Sacramento, California (Maidu)
Arthur Tillahash, Enterprise, Utah (Paiute)
Alfred Widmark, Klawoek, Alaska (Tlingit)
John B. Cummins, Lodge Grass, Montana (Crow)
Rev. Vine Deloria, Pierre, South Dakota (Rosebud - Sioux)
David Little Swallow, Newton, North Dakota (Mandan)

Drafting Committee

D'Arcy McNickle, Boulder, Colorado (Flathead)
Erin Forrest, Alturas, California (Pitt River)
John C. Rainer, Taos, New Mexico (Taos)
Georgeann Robinson, Bartlesville, Oklahoma (Osage)
Helen Peterson, Washington, D. C. (Oglala Sioux)
Tom Mason, Chicago (Chippewa)
Helen Miner Miller, Franklin Park, Illinois (Wisconsin - Winnebago)
Helen Maynor, Pembroke, North Carolina (Lumbee)
Ray Goetting, Grants, New Mexico (Caddo)
Arlis Whiteman, Lodge Grass, Montana (Crow)
Clyde Warrior, Ponca City, Oklahoma (Ponca)
Robert Yellowtail, Lodge Grass, Montana (Crow)
E. W. Morigeau, Polson, Montana (Flathead)
Dan Howard, Morristown, South Dakota (Standing Rock - Sioux)
John A. Anderson, Couderay, Wisconsin (Chippewa)
Earl Boyd Pierce, Muskogee, Oklahoma (Cherokee)
Rex Whistler, Norman, Oklahoma (Sac and Fox)
Leslie Fourstar, Fort Peck, Montana (Assiniboine)
Roger A. Jourdain, Red Lake, Minnesota (Red Lake Band of Chippewas)
William Paul, Sr. Alaska (Tlingit)
Pete Homer, Sr., Parker, Arizona (Mojave)
Lloyd Eagle Bull, Pine Ridge (Oglala Sioux)
Vincent Adolph, Omak, Washington (Colville)
Frank W. Parker, Fort Hall, Idaho (Bannock)
Arthur Hayball, Fort Hall, Idaho (Shoshone)

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Hazel Cuny, Rapid City, South Dakota (Oglala Sioux)
Rosanna White Eagle, Washington, D. C. (Winnebago)

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Austin Buckles, Fort Peck, Montana (Assineboine)
Dibbon J. Cook, Sprague River, Oregon (Klamath)
The Rev. Vine Deloria, Pierre, South Dakota (Sioux)
George D. Heron, Red House, New York (Seneca)
Fred Kabotie, Oraibi, Arizona (Hopi)
George Kenote, Kashena, Wisconsin (Menominee)
Judge Lacey Maynor, Pembroke, N. C. (Lumbee)
Howard McKinley, Fort Defiance, New Mexico (Navajo)
D'Arcy McNickle, Boulder, Colorado (Flathead)
Helen Peterson, Washington, D. C. (Oglala Sioux)
Marie Potts, Sacramento, California (Maidu)
John C. Rainer, Taos, New Mexico (Taos Pueblo)

Anthony Rivers, Eagle Butte, South Dakota (Cheyenne River Sioux)
Georgeann Robinson, Bartlesville, Oklahoma (Osage)
Clarence Wesley, San Carlos, Arizona (Apache)
Alfred Widmark, Klawoek, Alaska (Tlingit)
Helen Miner Miller, Chicago, Illinois (Winnebago)

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Henry DeCourse, Yuma, Arizona (Quecham)
James Frechette, Keshena, Wisconsin (Menominee)
William Hollowbreast, Lodge Grass, Montana (Northern Cheyenne)
Philip Martin, Phila., Miss. (Choctaw)
Howard McKinley, Fort Defiance, Arizona (Navajo)
Judge L. Maynor, Pembroke, North Carolina (Lumbee)
Woodrow Wilson, Thomas, Oklahoma (Southern Cheyenne)
Cecil Addison, New Haven, Conn. (Mohawk-Cherokee)
Frank Hawkins, Washington (Snohamish)
Leona Gonzalez, Sanborn, New York (Tuscarora)
John Winchester, Dowagiac, Michigan (Potawatomi)
Emerson Eckiwardi, Lawton, Oklahoma (Comanche)
Rev. B. Frank Belvin, Okmulgee, Oklahoma (Choctaw)
J. Edmund Red Door, Poplar, Montana (Sioux)

CO-ORDINATOR'S NOTE

This "Declaration of Indian Purpose" was prepared completely by North American Indians. Many non-Indian friends helped Indians to meet and discuss their problems, particularly in nine regional conferences. The nine generous hosts were:

1. The University of Washington and A.F.S.C. (Dr. Erna Gunther)
2. University of Nevada (Dr. Mary Sellers)
3. Arizona State University (Dr. Robert Roessel)
4. College of Great Falls, Montana (Sister Providencia)
5. University of Nebraska (Dr. Preston Holder)
6. University of Oklahoma (Dr. Norman Chance)
7. Milwaukee Public Museum, and University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee (Dr. Stephen Borhegyi)
8. Haverford College and Indian Rights Association (Dr. Theodore Hetzel)
9. Pembroke State College, N. C. (President Walter Gale)

Without this help, understanding of AICC could never have been achieved in time. Many other organizations helped in a variety of ways; thus, the Episcopal Church financed the travel to Chicago of many Indians and the American Friends Service Committee financed the travel of an Indian regional organizer; and so on.

About 145 non-Indians, mainly scholars and religious and community workers and government personnel, also came to the Conference in Chicago as observers and resource people.

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